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OUR SPECIAL MESSAGE TO MOSLEMS

It is possible to approach this question with preconceived ideas, to view it solely from the Christian standpoint and to say, as indeed is true, that Christ crucified is our supreme message.

But there is surely, when the Moslem is in view, a previous question, for the significance of Christ's death (as of His authority) depends on the meaning we attach to Christ Himself.

As we consider Him we find ourselves approaching our question more from the Moslem point of view.

Who was He? What significance shall we attach to Him? Clearly, other questions, however important, are but secondary to this.

The question is an old one—"Who say ye that I am?" The Jews of His time contended with Him, and among themselves, about this very matter. And yet the question is always new. Moslems continually compel us to face it. Nothing, in fact, is so familiar as their repudiation of the suggestion that Christ was, in any unique sense, Divine.

Now, the motive of some Moslem detractors of Christ is self-evident. We quote a recent utterance that is characteristic of a certain section: "Islam and Christianity are engaged in a deadly struggle for world-mastery. It is therefore in the best interest of Islam that Jesus should be brought down from His divine pedestal. In crediting

Him with a miraculous birth as well as a miraculous flight to heaven, the Mussalmans are only confirming the Christian contention that Jesus was divine, not human. It is, therefore, the crying call of the day to prove that Jesus was born in exactly the same way as any man is born, and that, like all the rest of mortals, He too had to drink the cup of death." (quoted from *The Light,* in THE MOSLEM WORLD, October, 1929, p. 353.)

And, conceivably, it might be debated that it is just this motive that underlies and explains the persistent attitude of Moslems through the years to the superior claims of Christ and to Christian teaching about Him; as if they were to say, "what Mohammed cannot be, Christ shall not be."

However that may be, unquestionably the chief reason for this attitude on the part of Moslems in general is to be found in their tenacious belief, at any price, in the *Unity* of God. It is there in the brief *Kalima,* so constantly repeated: "There is no god but God. . . ." It is there in the Sura *Ikhlas* (112), a short chapter of four verses said to be equal in value to one-third of the whole Koran and embodying the same protest in striking language: "Say: God, He is one; He is eternal; He doth not beget, and He is not begotten; and there is no one in His likeness at all."

As Maulvi Muhammad Ali says (Preface to "Holy Koran" p. viii f.): "The unity of God is the one great theme of the Koran . . . there is absolute unity in the Divine nature . . . it admits of no participation or manifoldness. . . . Unity is the keynote to the conception of the Divine Being in Islam. . . . It denies all plurality of persons in the Godhead. . . . Islam refuses to acknowledge the Incarnation of the Divine Being."

And as though the great stress laid by the Koran on this doctrine were not enough, the offence of "associating a partner" with God (*shirk*) is declared by the

Koran to be the one unpardonable sin. "Verily, God will not forgive the union of other gods with Himself! But other than this will He forgive to whom He pleaseth. And he who hath united gods with God hath devised a great wickedness." (Sura *Nisa* (4), vs. 51 and 116.)

It matters not that we, on our side, might strongly object to such crude language as being inapplicable to the case of Christ, the fact remains—in the mind of the Moslem we come within the category of those so upbraided.

It appears certain, therefore, that in the main these two factors—the constant assertion of the doctrine of the absolute unity of the Divine Being coupled with the dread of this sin of *shirk*—are preventing Moslems from entertaining any conception of the Divinity of Christ and any explanation of the Incarnation.

So incessant and vehement a repudiation of the very idea of an incarnation might well lead us to consider,

1. whether this belief of ours is essentially irrational and unwarranted;
2. how, while holding it to be entirely reasonable, we may restate it in terms more intelligible, and therefore more acceptable to Moslems.

We are enabled to understand the deeply-rooted prejudice of the Moslem by studying the psychology of the Jew, for the Jews of old also strongly resented Christ's own claim to be Divine.

Subjectivism dominated Jewish thought. While the Greek sought perfection outside himself, the Jew sought it within himself and so any outward image of the Deity was forbidden. The Greek gloried in his sculptural art; the Jew found in the Psalms a finer means of self-expression. Now, just because the Jew is essentially a subjectivist he could not accept a realization of his ideal in the objective and the external. Jesus was the fulfillment of Jewish hope and ideal, and yet precisely because He was

this, the Jews could not accept Him. (Cf. article by Sir Leon Levison, THE MOSLEM WORLD, January, 1928.)

Mohammed appears to have been controlled by ideas very similar to those of the Jews; at any rate, his followers are no more ready now to accept the idea of an incarnation than the Jews were then.

Can we not get at the root of this Moslem abhorrence? Is it not that the Moslem, like the Jew, feels that to bring God into the human category, in any manner or degree, is to profane and debase Him? For our part, we believe and we maintain that, far from detracting from God's glory, such a course, when seen to be taken for the sake of man's highest welfare, immeasurably adds to His glory.

How can we get the Moslem also to see that? The question enables us to focus our problem.

We are agreed, Moslem and Christian alike, that the chief end of man is to know God and have fellowship with Him. But before we can have real fellowship we need to have a knowledge of Him more intimate than the kind that contents itself with ascribing to Him such attributes of majesty as, in effect, keep Him far beyond the realm of human affairs. We cannot "hold communion" with a God unknown, nor can we with One whose only known characteristics awe or appal us.

Is God, then, more intimately knowable than this, and if so, how can we know Him? We believe that He is, that He Himself has shown us how, and that the finding of the way is the greatest discovery man can make.

At the outset of our investigation we are faced with a fact which we shall do well to ponder, and that is that we can only understand God and everybody and everything else as we see them expressed in terms of human experience. There is a further principle involved in this fact which may be expressed by saying that it requires a person to understand a person, and also to explain a person. A Moslem might here object that while this

may be generally true, yet to think of *God* in this way is wrong. It may be wrong, but, constituted as we are, it is our only way of thinking at all, even of God. And since God Almighty made us, He cannot have erred in limiting us to this method in that realm of activity which definitely raises us above the brute creation—the realm of mind.

In a remarkable passage in the New Testament the attainment of just this knowledge of God is declared to be the supreme concern of an absolute ethical standard, and for an increasing host of people throughout the world the highest achievement in the realm of moral endeavor is to be just this—Christlike.

We can now carry the theme a step further. If it be true that God is revealed in Jesus Christ (and this we do most sincerely believe), then it can be no accident. On the contrary, we Christians see it to be of set purpose: "God was in Christ reconciling the world to Himself." He has deliberately revealed Himself in Jesus Christ. And here we come upon another fact that is distinctive of Christianity.

Man's search for God and struggle to attain to communion with Him—the way by which, according to many Moslems, the goal is to be reached—is indeed a vital feature in the religious experience of man, but there is nothing distinctive about it. It is a common feature in most religious systems. Whereas Christianity proclaims the great fact that in the matter of seeking and searching God Himself has taken the initiative: "We love because He first loved us."

Nor do we shrink, as would the Moslem, from extending this voluntary self-revelation of God into the realm of the Passion and Death of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Moslem is prepared to give the highest praise to Jesus for what He said and did and suffered, so long as it is claimed for Him that He was no more than man, but once he is asked to accept all this of one said to be

Divine, he thinks the character a deplorable one—a sorry God.

But we maintain that, far from its being derogatory to the majesty and glory of God to seek by this means to make Himself known in a saving way, this is love's prerogative. God is essentially Love.

The Glory of Power might be sullied by an act of condescension. Supreme Intelligence might hesitate to appear in lowly guise, but Love, true Love, does stoop to save and stooping is not stained.

When we realize the significance of Christ's life as a whole, not the life without the death nor yet the death without the life, but both His living and His dying, we become certain that we thereby have obtained a nearer and a loftier conception of the character of God, the like of which can be gained by man in no other way.

But, when all is said, it remains true that there are many (and these are not all Moslems) who, having beheld Christ and seen Him crucified, find nothing in Him that they should desire Him. Others find that they cannot live without Him: "He loved me and gave Himself for me." And is it not true that the measure of our concern for those who still live without Him is the measure of our response to His redeeming love?

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RĀBI'A THE MYSTIC

Rābi'a al-'Adawiyya, who has been called by a modern writer on Islamic mysticism "the saint *par excellence* of the Sunnite hagiography," was born, probably about 717 A. D., at Basra, where she spent the greater part of her life. She was early left an orphan, and being seized one day while out walking, she was sold as a slave. In the midst of the hardships entailed by her servile condition, one day she heard a heavenly voice saying to her, "Grieve not, for on the day of resurrection, thy rank shall be such that those nearest to God in heaven shall envy thee." This encouraged her in her service for God, and she continued to spend her days fasting, and her nights in vigil and prayer. One night, while she was engaged in prayer, her master woke up, and on looking out of his window, saw Rābi'a with her head bowed in worship, while above her and round about her shone a radiance, by which the whole house was illuminated. When day dawned, her master set her free.

Rābi'a was now able to devote herself to a life of contemplation, and she built herself a place of retreat and spent her time on works of devotion. Hers was at all times a religion of the spirit, and she was little concerned with the formalities enjoined upon the orthodox Moslem. Of the Ka'ba she said, "It is only a stone to me," and on another occasion, "It is the Lord of the house Whom I need, what have I to do with the house? I need to meet with Him Who said, 'Whoso approaches Me by a span's length, I will approach him by the length of a cubit.'[1] The Ka'ba which I see has no power over me: what joy does the beauty of the Ka'ba bring to me?"

1 Cf. James 4: 8.

Rābi'a received many offers of marriage, according to her biographers, but she refused them all, feeling that it was only in the solitary life that she could devote herself to the service of her Lord, and come into that union with the divine, which was the goal of her desire. When one of her suitors pressed her, she said to him, "Marriage is for those who have their existence in this world. For me that is not so, since I have ceased to exist, and have passed out of self. My life is in my Lord, and I am altogether His. The marriage-contract must be asked for from Him and not from me." This is altogether in the spirit of the mediæval Christian mystics, who sought after the spiritual marriage of the soul with God, or, like St. Catherine of Siena, believed that they were in very truth bound in mystic marriage to a heavenly Bridegroom.

Rābi'a lived a life of extreme asceticism and otherworldliness, like the majority of the early Sūfīs, who, in this respect, were undoubtedly following the example of the Christian hermits and monks who lived in the deserts of Egypt and Syria, and sought thus to escape from the evils of this present world, and from the temptations of the flesh, and to be free to devote themselves entirely to the contemplative life and the service of God, though in this they included the service of man. Rābi'a chose to live the life of poverty, though she might have become wealthy by the gifts that her visitors and disciples sought to bestow upon her, but she refused them all, trusting that her Lord would provide for her needs. In refusing one gift, proffered by a wealthy merchant, she said, "Shall not He Who provides for those who revile Him, provide for those who love Him? He does not refuse sustenance to one who speaks unworthily of Him, how then should He refuse it to one whose soul is overflowing with love toward Him?"

On one occasion when she was ill, one of her friends observed that if she would pray to God, He would re-

lieve her suffering. Rābi'a turned to him and said, "Do you not know that it is God who wills this suffering for me?" He said, "Yes." "Since you know this," said Rābi'a, "why do you bid me ask for what is contrary to His will? It is not good to oppose one's Beloved."

It was by the life of prayer that Rābi'a attained to this sense of trust in God and perfect acquiescence in His will. She spent most of the night in prayer, and at nightfall used to go up on her roof, and pray under the open Eastern sky, "O my Lord, the stars are shining and the eyes of men are closed, and kings have shut their doors, and every lover is alone with his beloved, and here am I, alone with Thee." Prayer, to her, was not mere intercession for herself or for others, but communion with the divine Friend, and perfect satisfaction in the sense of His presence. Once she prayed, "O my Lord, whatever of this world Thou wouldst give to me, give it to Thine enemies, and whatever of the next world Thou wouldst give to me, give it to Thy friends. Thou art enough for me." Again she prayed, "O my Lord, if I worship Thee from fear of hell, burn me in hell. And if I worship Thee in hope of paradise, exclude me thence, but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, then withhold not from me Thine eternal beauty."

Rābi'a was greatly revered as a teacher and guide along the mystic Way, by the Sūfīs of her time, and much of her teaching has been passed down to us by the great Sūfī writers. One of her biographers says of her, "Rābi'a was unique, because in her relations to God and her knowledge of things divine she had no equal. She was an unquestioned authority to her contemporaries." The aim of the Sūfīs, as of all the mystics, was to attain to union with the divine, and this could only be achieved by treading the mystic path. The first stage, of preparation, was the life of purgation, by which, through asceticism, the soul might be purified from the lusts of the flesh and cleansed from its sins, and so be fitted to

tread the way which would lead it up to perfection. This way, according to the Sūfī teaching, was made up of a number of stages, and as it passed through these stages, the soul acquired certain qualities which enabled it to rise higher and higher, until at last, by its own earnest striving, aided by the grace of God, without which its own efforts would avail nothing, it reached the mystic gnosis (*ma'rifa*), and was admitted to the contemplation of God Himself, and attained to abiding union with Him.

Rābi'a's teaching deals with all the stages of the way. She had a deep sense of sin and the need for repentance and forgiveness; she pleads with her Beloved to have pity on the sinner who comes to Him, and again she speaks of God as a Comforter in sorrow, the Healer of souls, and the One Who alone can cleanse her from her sins. "My sorrow," she said to a friend, "is not for the things which make me grieve, but my sorrow is for the sins for which I do not grieve." She felt, and she taught, that sin was hurtful in the highest degree to the soul, not because it involved punishment hereafter, but because it was the cause of separation between the soul and God. But, to the sincere penitent, forgiveness would be granted, for repentance, Rābi'a held, was sent by God as a sign of grace, and sin and grace could not continue to dwell together in the same soul.

Patience and gratitude were both qualities to be acquired by the Sūfī, and Rābi'a practised and taught both. Once a young man came to her with a bandage round his head, and complained of headache. Rābi'a asked him how old he was, and he told her that he was thirty years old. She asked him if he had suffered much in his life, and he said "No." Then she said, "For thirty years God has kept your body fit, and you have never bound upon it the bandage of gratitude, but for one night of pain in your head, you bind it with the bandage of complaint." She herself had the faith which accepted

all gifts as from God the Giver, and which regarded misfortune and suffering in the same light as favor and happiness.

Unlike most of her contemporaries among the Sūfīs, Rābi'a was unmoved by thoughts of the fear of hell or the hope of heaven, as we have seen in the prayer given above. When asked, "Why do you worship God, have you no desire for paradise?" she replied, "The neighbor first and then the house. Is it not enough for me that I am allowed to worship Him? Even if heaven and hell were not, would it not behove us to obey Him? For He is worthy of worship apart from any interested motive." For her, the fear of God was the reverence due to His awful holiness, and her hope in God was of the vision of His beauty.

True poverty, and the renunciation of both this world and the next—indeed of all save God Himself—was a stage through which the Sūfī had to pass before he could hope to reach the goal of his quest. The true gnostic sought to cut himself off from all else in order to obtain that divine vision. We have seen how Rābi'a renounced all the joys and riches of this world, in order that she might concern herself only with what belonged to God. Once a disciple asked her, "What should the servant do who desires to draw near to his Lord?" and she replied, "He should possess nothing in this world or the next, save Him." A wealthy admirer once bestowed on her a beautiful house adorned with paintings, but after her first visit to it, Rābi'a restored it to the donor, and said that she had done so in order to leave what did not really concern her and find what *did* concern her—fellowship with One Who was eternal. She abandoned the transient treasures of this world, in order that she might find the heavenly treasure that would endure for ever.

The last stage on the mystic way was love, the passionate and all-consuming love of the soul for God. Of Rābi'a her biographer wrote that she was "on fire with

love to God," and she was one of the first among the Sūfīs to teach the doctrine of disinterested love to God. She was asked if she hated Satan, and answered "No," and when asked if she loved the Prophet, she said, "My love to God has so possessed me that no place remains for hating aught, or loving any save Him." She was asked "What is Love?" and she said in reply, "Love has come from eternity and passes into eternity and none has been found who can comprehend it until at last he passes from self into God, and hence comes the saying, 'God loves them (His saints) and they love Him.'"[2]

In Rābi'a's teaching on love, it is made plain that the true lover of God must turn aside from the world and all its attractions, and must be prepared to be stripped of everything, and cut off from all that is creaturely, for the sake of the Creator. So also the lover must rise above the claims of the senses and allow neither pain nor pleasure to distract or disturb that contemplation of the divine, which would lead to union with the beloved. She teaches, as we have seen, that this love, directed towards God to the exclusion of all else, must be pure love, free from all interested motives, seeking only to do the will of God, and to accomplish that which is pleasing to Him, that He may be glorified. So will the lover be dominated by that highest type of love which alone is worthy of the beloved. Only to the adoring gaze of such a lover will God draw aside the veil and reveal Himself in His perfect beauty, and only through this self-renouncing love can the loving soul at last be united with the beloved and in His will find its peace.

Rābi'a was over eighty when she died, in A. D. 801. As she lay dying, with her friends around her, she bade them rise and go out, "For a moment," she said, "leave the way free for the messengers of God most high," and when they had closed the door behind them, they heard a voice speaking to her, "O soul at rest, return unto Thy Lord, satisfied with Him, well-pleasing unto Him. So

2 Koran v. 59.

take thy place among my servants and enter into My Paradise." [3]

After her death, two who had known her visited her grave and addressed her spirit, saying, "O thou who didst not care for either this world or the next, hast thou reached that exalted state?" and they believed they heard an answering voice which said, "It was the right way that I discovered, and I have attained to that which I beheld." She had reached the goal of her quest; she who had been consumed with the longing to see God, now beheld that vision of the everlasting beauty for which she prayed; she was united, at last and for ever, with her beloved, the God she had served and loved so well.

Rābi'a knew that the path of saintship meant the way of self-sacrificing love, and that path she herself trod unfalteringly, while she sought to point it out to others, and from the teaching of this Moslem saint and mystic a message comes down to us, for the Christian gospel also speaks of a "narrow way" to salvation, and seeks to lead us by the same means that Rābi'a used, to holiness and the life lived in and with God. "It is the Spirit that quickeneth," said our Lord, "the flesh profiteth nothing." Again He said, "He that loveth his life shall lose it, and he that hateth his life in this world shall keep it unto life eternal." Purification and self-sacrifice are essential to rebirth, and only the pure in heart can hope to see God. By love alone can God be known as He is in truth. "Everyone that loveth is born of God and knoweth God," says St. John, "He that loveth not knoweth not God, for God is Love." Love and knowledge lead to union. "If a man love Me," says our Lord, "he will keep My words: and We will come unto him and make our abode with him." The saint, purified by sacrifice, and inspired by love, shall indeed be "filled with all the fullness of God."

St. Hilda, London. MARGARET SMITH.

[3] Koran lxxxix. 27-30.

"RELIGIOUS FREEDOM IN EGYPT"

The recent negotiations between England and Egypt were bound to bring into the foreground the question of the position of minorities in Egypt, and thus to raise once more the issue of religious freedom. In point of fact, however, this issue had already become a major one some time before the negotiations began, by reason of a series of events which this article will endeavor to record.

At first sight it would appear that the Constitution of 1923 made full provision for religious liberty. Article 12 of that Constitution reads, "Liberty of conscience is absolute." Article 13 states, "The State protects, in harmony with usages established in Egypt, the free exercise of any religion or faith, on condition that it is not contrary to public order or good morals." Article 16 declares, "No restriction will be imposed on the free use of any language in private relations, in trade, in religious affairs, in the press, or in publication of any sort, as well as in public gatherings."

There would thus seem to be complete justification for the claim of the Egyptian patriot that the Constitution of Egypt is as liberal in its provisions for religious liberty as that of any modern European state. In practice, however, this liberty is interpreted to mean that everyone has a right to follow his own religion, be he Moslem, Jew or Christian, subject only to considerations of public order and good morals, but not that any one has the right to change from one religion to another. Even this is not all the truth. Provision *is* made in Egypt today for any man to become a Moslem, whatever was his religion before, but there is no provision for a Moslem to leave his faith and choose another religion.

We find that on February 28th, 1912, the Ministry of Justice in its official circular, No. 2466, states that "the Ministry of Justice has seen fit to issue a register for recording the names of those who change their religion in Egypt, and it requires the Courts to advise it of everyone who embraces Islam. . . ." This circular is accompanied by a form which proves beyond doubt that the only change of religion that the Government recognizes is from another religion to Islam. There is no form issued for the registration, for example, of converts from Islam to Christianity.

The situation thus created is not one of theoretical difficulty only. Experience in the past has shown that the convert suffers very serious disabilities as the law now stands. By the terms of the *Shari'a* (or Moslem) law, a convert is in practice invariably deprived of his patrimony. And if the position of the male convert is difficult, that of the woman convert is virtually impossible. If she is unmarried her person can be claimed by her father or guardian; if married, by her husband. Placed thus within an exclusively Moslem environment, she is subjected to every form of pressure in order to make her recant.

Throughout the spring and summer of 1929 two cases of women converts attracted the attention of the Egyptian public. Both of these women had been won to Christianity by the activities of the Egypt General Mission. The one was aged twenty-three; the other seventeen. In both cases relatives were induced to claim the persons of the converts, and though the E. G. M. disputed their right in the local courts, seeing that the girls had expressed a desire to remain with the Mission, the Courts upheld the claim of the relatives. Now while it is true that one of the two women in question was a minor, and it has since been maintained by prominent Egyptians that the only issue involved was that of the right of protecting minors, this does not hold of the other, who was well over legal age. Against the decision of the local

court there was no method of appeal to the Articles of the Constitution.

It was also during the summer of 1929 that negotiations were first opened between Mr. Henderson of the British Foreign Office and Mohammed Pasha Mahmoud, at that time Egyptian Premier. In a supplementary note to the draft Treaty, which Mohammed Pasha Mahmoud took back with him from London, there appeared the significant observation that in future the British Government would regard the question of minorities as the exclusive concern of the Egyptian Government. If, then, this draft Treaty had been implemented, there would, in the case of any injustice in the local courts, have been no appeal to the British Residency in Cairo, whereas, previously, the question of minorities had been one of the four reserved points still remaining to be settled between England and Egypt.

The case of these two women converts, together with the new conditions which were likely to prevail as a result of the official negotiations, made it imperative that educated Egyptian opinion, which seemed to be convinced that religious liberty actually existed, should be made acquainted with the facts of the situation, and should be shown that between the Articles of the Constitution and the practice of the local courts there was a great gulf fixed. Early in January, 1930, there appeared in the London *Times* an article from the pen of Lord Cecil entitled "Religious Liberty in Egypt," in which it was pointed out that liberty of religious conversion was apparently not covered by Article 12 of the Constitution, and an appeal was made to progressive Egyptian thought to make conversion from Christianity to Islam, or from Islam to Christianity a right not to be interfered with by the State. This letter was translated verbatim into several of the leading Arabic dailies in Cairo, but it failed to evoke any favorable comment. One newspaper only, the *Standard,* which is an organ of the Nationalist Press, took official cognizance of it, and issued an article

over the signature of Amin Ibrahim (of the Azhar University), in which this writer claimed that every country has the right to determine its own internal affairs, and that just as England would regard Bolshevistic propaganda as subversive of law and order, so Egypt regards the activities of those who would overthrow the *Shari'a* law.

Though this was the only article which appeared in answer to Lord Cecil's letter, subsequent events showed that it represented a typical Egyptian viewpoint. Not many weeks passed before the religious issue was again raised. On February 11th, 1930, Dr. Fakhry Faraj delivered a lecture in the hall of the American University, Cairo, on the subject of "The Rights and Responsibilities of Women—Are they Equal to those of Men?" This lecture followed quickly upon similar lectures on the same theme by other speakers in the halls of the Egyptian University, Cairo, and of the Cairo Young Men's Moslem Association. Dr. Fakhry was very outspoken in his lecture and criticised, without hesitation, conditions as he saw them in Egypt to-day. Some of the audience resented Dr. Fakhry's statements, interpreting them as an attack upon the prophet Mohammed and the *Shari'a* Law, and lodged a complaint with the Parquet (the Public Prosecutor) that he had used calumny against Islam. Virulent, and even most objectionable, articles appeared in the local press, attacking both Dr. Fakhry and the American University, but for a time it appeared that the Parquet was not prepared to take action.

Soon after this the new Egyptian Premier, Mustafa Pasha Nahas, set out, with his Wafdist colleagues, to carry on negotiations in London with the British Government. The opposition party, led by the Liberal Constitutionalists, looked out for an opportunity to attack the Government, and thought they had found it (if they did not actually create it) in a popular outbreak against Kamil Effendi Mansour, a Moslem convert to Christianity, who was accused of defaming the Moslem faith.

For years Kamil Effendi had been in the habit of holding weekly evangelistic meetings for Moslems in the hall of the Presbyterian Church at Ezbekiah, Cairo, and he was noted for the tact and discretion which he invariably showed in dealing with Moslem opponents. It was, therefore, with considerable surprise that one read in the newspapers that Kamil Effendi was charged with having declared at his meeting held on the evening of April 7th, 1930, that "Islam is nothing but old-fashioned superstition, that the Koran is mere fables, and the story of the Prophet an invention. Moreover, His Majesty the King bears upon his breast the sign of the Cross." It is significant that one of the principal witnesses against Kamil Effendi proceeded to other preaching centres and began to level similar charges against them too.

At once there followed a bitter newspaper campaign against Dr. Fakhry, Kamil Effendi Mansour and all Christian evangelists. Attacks were made upon every form of missionary activity, and dissensions between Moslems and Copts broke out in different parts of the country. Though there is little doubt that the papers which first instituted this campaign did so with the purpose of discrediting the Wafdist party, which included amongst its most capable leaders a number of Christians, many others took up the pen and wrote to the papers out of a genuine sense of alarm at the activities of foreign missionaries and Egyptian evangelists. Most of these articles were scurrilous in their charges against evangelists, accusing them of moral turpitude, of surreptitious methods and of purely material objectives.

It is impossible within the scope of this article to quote at any length from the numerous articles which were printed in the chief Arabic papers. One, which attracted fairly considerable attention, will suffice. It is an open letter from Mohammed Effendi Abu al Azaim, who signs himself "Chairman of the Mohammedan Caliphate Society of the Nile Valley," to the President of the House of Deputies, who is a Christian, and

appeared in the *Siyasa* of April 22nd, 1930. He writes as follows:

Is it right to encourage Coptic preachers of Christianity such as Kamil Mansour and the like, and allow them to oppress the Mohammedans to such an extent as to drive them mad with anger? Don't you mind that our religion is dearer to us than even our persons, our riches and our children? Did you not see how the whole nation madly revolted against our enemies, the English, to restore independence? How much more madly will our religious revolt show itself if we feel our religion insulted? In case such a revolt takes place, you and your Coptic people will be the first to regret it and to grieve bitterly for it. We have as an example the Moslems of India and the Hindoos who broke into insurrection for things less important than religion. . . .

Do you hold yourself responsible for what results from the indignation of fourteen million Moslems against half a million Christians? Nothing less will result than the withdrawal of our confidence from those who encourage preachers to insult our religion. Will you prove yourself innocent of the guilt of such encouragement by causing such a tumult in Parliament as will stir up the Government to avenge herself on Kamil Mansour, who has unjustly hurt our feelings and caused so much bitterness and resentment?

Do you think that the English who want to be friends with the Eastern nations approve such a rash preaching movement? In my opinion, the English absolutely disapprove of such a movement for, with my own eyes, I have seen them fire guns in the Sudan in honor of some religious Moslems. If they behave in such a friendly way with Moslems, will they approve any insult against the prophet who is the founder of Mohammedanism?

From the tone of this article it is possible to some extent to gauge the temper of the Arabic press during the month of April, 1930. Various proposals were put forward for curtailing missionary activity, such as, for example, that all lectures should be submitted in the first instance to Government censorship, that all preaching places should be closed, and that Christian literature and magazines should be suppressed. In Parliament also, questions were raised. One deputy asked whether the Government would not request the American Minister in Cairo to cooperate in securing that all teaching in American educational institutions which would be likely to cause dissensions between students of different faiths should be forbidden. Another deputy, Ahmed Effendi Hamza, put the following question to the Minister of Education:—"Has the Ministry considered the protec-

tion of religious creeds for the children who enter schools in Egypt, conducted by foreign bodies who implant in them by different methods of enticement and seduction religious teachings which are contrary to their own and their parents' beliefs? If so will the Minister give evidence to Parliament of what the Ministry has done in this matter?" In reply the Minister stated that "the Ministry desired to draft a law for this purpose, but circumstances had not rendered this possible up to this time. It remains for parents not to permit their children to enter these schools."

For some weeks it appeared as if the situation was becoming serious in its possible effects upon all missionary and evangelistic activity. But rapidly as this newspaper outbreak had started, so it rapidly quieted down. The Wafdist Government brought an action before the Parquet against the *Siyasa* for having printed articles of an inflammatory character, which were likely to cause misunderstanding between the Moslems and Copts in Egypt. Leaders of both the Moslem and the Christian faiths wrote to the press, appealing for mutual forbearance and for closer cooperation in promoting the well-being of the nation. Instructions were issued by the Cairo Commandant of Police that district police officers were to examine very carefully any charges of calumny against religion which were brought before them, and that, before forwarding them to the Parquet, they were to send them on to the heads of police in their district, who were themselves to investigate them thoroughly before handing them on. Several of the charges of defamation of Islam were dismissed, and on Sunday, May 25th, Dr. Fakhry Faraj was acquitted of the charge brought against him. This verdict was received with cheering in a crowded court. For the present the case of Kamil Effendi Mansour has been postponed.

The prospects for the future are, however, far from clear. At present there does not appear to be any machinery for dealing with cases where there is a clash be-

tween the Constitution and existing legal practice. In India, where a similar difficulty arose, the problem was solved by the enactment of a special law entitled "The Caste Disabilities Removal Act" of 1850. This law enjoins that—

"Whereas it is enacted by Section 9, Regulation VII, 1832, of the Bengal Code that whenever in any civil suit the parties to such suit may be of different persuasions, when one party shall be of the Hindu and the other of the Mohammedan persuasion; or when one or more of the parties to the suit shall not be either of the Mohammedan or Hindu persuasion; the laws of these religions shall not be permitted to operate to deprive such party or parties of any property to which, but for the operation of such laws, they would have been entitled; and whereas it would be beneficial to extend the principle of that enactment throughout the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company; it is enacted as follows:- So much of any laws or usage now in force within the Territories subject to the Government of the East India Company, as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the Courts of the East India Company, and in the Courts established by the Royal Charter within the said authorities."

Some legislation of an equivalent character would appear to be imperatively required in Egypt today. But no legislation can provide entirely satisfactory safeguards against periodic outbreaks of religious feeling, and more particularly when this feeling is stirred up for purely political reasons. It is only as educated Egyptian opinion comes to realize the supreme importance of liberty of conscience, and is prepared to guarantee full liberty of thought and belief at all times and in all circumstances, that the present problem can be adequately solved. And lest we be too critical of the position as it now is in Egypt, let us remember that religious liberty was not won in the West until after many years of bitter strife and even much bloodshed, and that in certain respects we are ourselves guilty even today of denying to others that liberty which we ourselves are so eager should be accorded to us.

Cairo, Egypt, June, 1930. "SPECTATOR."

A CROSS SECTION OF THE MOSLEM MIND

Five hundred invitations, couched in graceful Persian and printed in gold letters were circulated by the Christians of Kermanshah to announce a new departure in our work, a series of special evangelistic services, open to all who cared to come. They read as follows:

"Dear Friend: By good fortune, Mr. Allen, having been appointed (*i. e.,* by God) has come from Hamadan, and throughout this week, in our House of Prayer, located in the American Garden, will preach regarding the outstanding characteristics of Christianity in the 20th century. We shall be happy if your excellency share with us in these meetings." The meetings had the authorization of the Mission and the approval of the stations concerned, but it was with considerable trepidation that we launched this bold move in this Moslem centre. Happily, however, nothing untoward happened to interfere with the projected services, a group of well over a hundred was on hand for every service, with mounting interest such that on the last night nearly two hundred and fifty were present to hear the powerful closing appeal.

Save on the nights when there were many questions to be answered, the meetings were opened with lantern lectures on the Life of Christ. In addition, at the close of each service, pamphlets were given broadcast to all who attended, so that to the spoken word was added the visual appeal, and to the visual appeal the printed page to follow up and confirm what had been heard and seen.

Each night blank cards were distributed on which either questions or requests for prayer could be written,

and a considerable number of these was returned. Most of the requests for prayer contained no special indication of the particular need of the individual concerned, but occasional ones were eloquent with the spiritual struggle that lay behind them. "Please pray for your slave because I am hopeless. I cannot control my temper." "I am a cobbler, and I ask you to pray for me that I be enabled to give up opium." This latter prayer, by the way, is on the way to being answered, and the cobbler has cut down his opium ration by one half since then, and in spite of excessive weakness is carrying on.

But most interesting as revealing a cross section of the thinking of the group, were the questions that came in on the others of these cards. They were of all kinds, simple and profound, thoughtful and trivial, captious and sincere, and they gave us the reactions of the audience as nothing else could have done.

One questioner, apparently contemptuous of his fellow-countrymen, took the trouble to inform us that the whole affair was quite useless. He wrote: "I will state a parable. Is it at all possible that a baker prepare good bread without dough? It is evident that Jesus' work is God's work. But do not think that, in this part of the world, those who come are of the same mind as you. Half of them have not reached their majority. Half of them are out for a good time. Certainly a theatre and fine pictures are harmless. If you want to test which are Christians, try to get each to contribute two *krans* to give to the poor and you will see who has religion." We did not, however, make the suggested test.

Other questions were supposedly to get information. Such were: "How does one receive the Holy Spirit?", "What was the name of Moses' mother?" and "Was the ant who talked with Solomon in the Koran story male or female? What did it say, and where was it?" The point of this last was a bit too subtle for us, but

Mr. Allen's comment in answering it was particularly choice. "If the settling of this one point," he observed, "is all that remains between the questioner and God, he must be very near indeed!"

A fairly large group of questions centred around the Bible, and contained criticisms of it. Such were the following: "In the 20th century when believers in God are so few, and the weak believers are disturbed, you ought not make blasphemy still more common and say certain things such as that the name of Mohammed is not in the Gospel, and that Mohammed sinned, seeing that the source of your Gospels is the saying of several people who on the night when Jesus was seized, however much He commanded them to help Him not one of them obeyed; *i. e.,* if they had had perfect certainty of faith in Him they would assuredly have obeyed. If the honourable Koran had not descended on Mohammed, you would not have been at all able to prove the apostleship of Christ."

A similar one which was supposed to settle the points at issue once for all was phrased as follows: "When the Koran, which is a heavenly book, descended on our prophet, who is the seal of the prophets, it abrogated the Gospel. And if you say it does not abrogate the Gospel, then the Gospel does not abrogate the *Torat* of Moses. Therefore you should return to the *Torat* of Moses, seeing that the book of Moses was before the Gospel. This is sufficient." A more sweeping barrage was laid down by another in the following terms: "Honourable Mr. Allen, some of your teachings are truly shameful in this 20th century. At one time expressing belief in God, and at another belief in the sonship of Christ. The prophethood of Christ is not yet evident. What do these words mean? In the Gospel of Matthew, once it traces the genealogy of Christ to David through Mary, once through Joseph the carpenter. Simply prove the legitimacy of Jesus' birth, and we will grant you the prophet-

hood, deity, and sonship. You at one time say that drunkards will not enter the Kingdom, and again that Jesus' first miracle was that water became wine. At one time He says: I have come for the fulfillment of the *Torat* and will not alter one dot or word of it. And on the other hand He does not observe one verse of the prohibitions of the *Torat*. He says if they smite you be ready for a second blow, and if they want one piece of clothing, give another also. Is all this imperialism and bloodshed of yours according to this verse?"

The Christian doctrine of the incarnation came in for its share of criticism in the following wholesale fashion: "Does God do anything against His holy nature? Certainly not. In this event seeing that His most holy nature is pure from everything, by what proof did He defile His most holy nature by blood and flesh? By what proof could the omnipotent God be crucified? Would it not be a blemish on His most holy nature? If you say it was Christ who was crucified then He was not God but merely a prophet. If Christ was not God then what is the meaning of the Trinity? If Jesus is sometimes called God Himself, sometimes the Son of God, and sometimes the Son of Man, by what proof is a person called both creator and created, *i. e.,* both bearded and beardless?"

With the inconsistency generally observable at this point the Bible was drawn upon as a source of proof texts certifying the claims of Mohammed. "Last night you said that the name of Mohammed is not in the Gospel" we were notified. "*Faraklita* which is derived from *Paraklitus* which means Mohammed and nothing else (or praised one) is not Parakletus which means Comforter, cf. chap. 14: 26; 15: 26; 16: 7 of Gospel of John." While another had discovered a verse that somehow our Concordances had failed to find. "Last night you said that the blessed name of the worshipful Mohammed (on whom be the blessings and peace of God), is not in the Gospel, whereas the name, indications, and

characteristics of that presence are in your Gospels. It says: 'Haste toward one riding on a camel, who shall appear from Faran mountain, and who will enforce his law with the sword.' We consider this same Jesus a prophet. In the Gospel of Barnabas too, it clearly explains the name and manner of coming of that prophet. Please answer from the Gospels."

Other questions grew more directly out of the topics discussed in the meetings. Such was the query: "Suppose that I have committed a sin and want to repent. But when I think that the mark of that sin will always remain and repentance from it is useless, then I will continue in my sin, and not repent at all." And also the related one: "The more laws there are, the more sins. You say that thoughts are also counted as sins. I cannot imagine a man without thoughts, so what must I do? Sometimes one accepts God, and sometimes rejects."

That the theme of one of the sermons, What think ye of Christ, was much in their minds, was evidenced by such questions as the following: "Why should Jesus be called Lord?" "Who is Christ and what proof is there that He is better than all humanity?" "Give evidence for the prophethood of Christ, and declare what His miracles were." "By what proof were all the prophets not sinless? What proof have you that a man came to life and went to heaven?"

Quite arresting, moreover, and clearly indicative of the present atheistic trend in Moslem lands, was the fact that the largest single group of interrogations related to reasons for believing in a God at all. A generation ago this sort of question would probably not even have occurred to such a group, today it seems to be agitating a large share of them. "Please preach to-night, proving a Creator and Maker who is God." "Who is God anyway, and what is a prophet? Please prove God for us. God is an all-powerful person and so ought not to be visible." "Proof of the substance of God, proof of proph-

ecy; What is a miracle?" "Please prove the existence of God, as all the religions of the world worship in different ways and with their own ideas, such as idolators, fire-worshippers, Buddhists, materialists and others, and we have not seen and do not see any other organizer and founder than the four elements. These, as the materialists say (or Nature) are God. But I have not accepted any of these words, and have not accepted my ancestral religion either, but want an absolute proof of the existence of God."

The how of creation too seemed to be puzzling some, and they paid the lecturer the compliment of asking him: "Was spirit formed according to the command of God or according to His will? Of what things and materials was spirit created? By what proof is Jesus the son of God seeing that God is not flesh, and no one is born of Him?" "Did God create the chicken first, or the egg?" While the eternal problem of sin and a good God was also brought to the fore. "Can God will everything or not? If He can will everything, let Him will that I be guided in the straight path, just as that woman in the story you told willed to bring her child down from the mountain." "Is God just? Is God all-powerful? If He is just and almighty, why does He not make all hearts pure and innocent, and if He is just, why the difference between created things with some degraded and some honored?"

It was inevitable too that the hiatus between Christian creed and conduct should not pass unobserved. It proved discouraging to one questioner who observed: "If God Himself, who is the doctor, came and did not cure sin, what is to be done? The Christians up to the present day have not been cured of the disease." It was profoundly irritating to another who had this to say: "Last night you said, 'I said to a Moslem, Do you keep the five hours of prayer?' He answered, 'No.' Your slave has read in the Gospel of John that Jesus Christ

commanded, 'If a man strike you on the right cheek, turn the left one to him.' Are those who are always trying to employ instruments of murder, *i. e.*, to pull up mankind by the roots, believers in the worshipful Christ? I think they are not. Those who were guilty of the blood of millions of innocent people who entered oblivion at the time of the World War, who were they and what was their religion? In view of this if you want God and Christ to be satisfied with you, first lead the Christians into abolishing instruments for the murder and slaughter of mankind, after that turn to inviting others. There is some hope you may succeed." Which final reflection contains a disturbing amount of truth.

In the nature of the case it is impossible to measure the precise effect of these meetings on the community of Kermanshah although sufficient expressions of appreciation have been heard to convince us that it was very considerable. But regarded in this brief retrospect, certain conclusions stand out: That we have an unprecedented opportunity to-day when such open evangelistic services are possible in this traditionally Moslem land; that with all our progress there is still a vast amount of sensitive orthodoxy in Persian Islam; that along with this there is a mounting wave of radical agnosticism and atheism that is likely to be the greatest obstacle to the progress of Christianity in the years to come.

Kermanshah, Persia. JOHN ELDER.

"AN EXPOSURE OF COUNTERFEITERS"

There has recently come into my hands a Malay book consisting of three Treatises of sixty-four, one hundred, and sixteen pages respectively, all of which were written by a Malay from the West Coast of Sumatra (Menangkabau), and deal with the false teachings and irregular practices of certain teachers of the Naqshbandi Brotherhood (*Tarīqah*) in that part of Sumatra, and especially with the teachings contained in a Malay treatise on certain Sufi Brotherhoods, which is known by the name of "Fathu'l-'Arifīn." A copy of this last-named Malay treatise has been in my possession for several years, and was printed at Mecca in the year 1323, A. H. My copy of the "Exposure" was printed at Cairo in the year 1344, and is a second edition; it is stated in the second of the three treatises that the first one was written in 1325 A. H.-1907 A. D., so it appears to have followed closely upon the publication of the "Fathu'l-'Arifīn," from which quotations are made.

These books indicate that there is a very bitter feeling on the part of some of the orthodox Mohammedans against some of the teachings and practices of what may be called the popular Sufiism of some of the Brotherhoods. The author of the "Exposure" styles himself Ahmad Khatīb ibn 'Abdu'l-Latīf, al-Khatīb, Imām ash-Shāfi'iyah bi Makkah, and the Malay language which he uses is of the same kind as is used in most of their religious literature, following the Arabic idiom rather than that of the people who speak the Malay language as their mother tongue.

The author of the "Exposure" states that he has written in reply to the following questions, which were sent to him at Mecca from the "Malay country," namely:

(1) Has the Tarīqa Naqshbandīya Khālidīya its origin in the Law (*shar'a*) or not? (2) Does its Pedigree (*Silsilah*) go back to the Prophet or not? (3) Does abstinence from eating flesh have its origin in the Law or not? (4) Do the periods of asceticism (*sulūk*) for forty or twenty or ten days have their origin in the Law or not? (5) Has the *Rābitah* its origin in the Law or not? (This word appears to mean the mystical tie or connection between the *shaikh* or teacher and his pupil.)

After stating the general principle that Mohammed before he left this world had perfected his religion for his followers, the author shows from various Koran texts and Traditions from the Prophet that Allah has commanded Mohammed's people to hold on to the religion of Islam, and that the introduction of anything which was not brought by the Book of Allah and by the custom (*sunnah*) of the Prophet is an innovation (*bid'ah*), and that is error, and is prohibited.

In answering the first question, as to whether the Naqshbandi Order (*Tarīqah*) had its origin in the law, the writer begins by saying that the *Tarīqah* of the Prophet and his Companions and of those who were learned in Canon Law and Sufiism (*Tasawwuf*) has always been in accordance with the five categories which divide all the acts of the Moslem into—Necessary, Recommended, Forbidden, Disapproved and Permitted.

The first thing that has been made Necessary by Allah and his Messenger is the knowledge of the God who is to be worshipped, whose commands are to be obeyed, and whose prohibitions are to be avoided; and this knowledge is obtained by getting to know the qualities of Allah which are necessary and impossible and possible, each of which must be known with its proof. This is absolutely incumbent upon every responsible person, for without this, faith is not real or firm, and a false faith is possible. Those who have a false faith in Allah are unbelievers (*kāfir*), but do not know that they are *kāfirs,* like most of the members of the Malay Sufi

Orders, who believe that Allah is a shining Light which has nothing like it (*Diyā'un Lāmi'un laisa kamithlihi Shai'un*). Those who believe that Allah is like that are unbelievers, for they believe Allah is a light, and a light is originated; and they believe that Allah has the quality of shining, and shining is an originated quality, like the quality of fire and the sun and everything that shines. The faithful have no doubt that those who have such a belief as that are unbelievers, for they believe that Allah is Light. Their unbelief is caused by their ignorance of the qualities of Allah and the Science of his Unity (*Tawhīd*). They are unbelievers, but they are not aware of the fact.

Moreover some of the members of these Orders believe that Allah is inside His creatures, and that His relation to His creatures is like the relation of the form seen in a mirror to that mirror. Those who believe such a thing as that are also unbelievers, for they believe that Allah is limited to a place; this is an originated quality, and whatever is described by an originated quality is itself originated, so they have an originated God, and they are unbelievers (*kāfir*). The reason of this is simply their ignorance of the science of Unity (*Tawhīd*).

In addition to a knowledge of *Tawhīd,* every responsible Moslem (*mukallaf*) ought to learn how to perform properly the duties of worship, fasting, the poor rate and the pilgrimage, with their rules and stipulations, and what makes these duties invalid. Also they should know how to recite properly the *Fātihah* and the *Tahīyah,* without the proper recital of which worship would not be valid; this is absolutely indispensable. Every responsible Moslem must also keep himself from things which are forbidden, and from both small and great sins; and if he does not know what is forbidden, that is no excuse, for everything that he ought to do is explained in the science of the Law (*fiqh*). The author also shows that it is incumbent upon the Moslem to cleanse his heart from all evil qualities, such as pride, envy and covetous-

ness; and that he must adorn his character with patience and sincerity.

After stating that religion consists of four things—(1) The performance of religious duties with sincerity and intention (*nīyat*); (2) A sound faith in Allah and his prophet, as to what is necessary, impossible and possible; (3) A performance of all obligatory duties at the proper time with all the stipulations and customs; and (4) Abstaining from all that is forbidden, both small and great sins, in all the members of the body and in the heart; the writer then says that if the question (Question 1) means a Naqshbandi Order (*Tarīqah*) which is different from all that has been mentioned above, then such an Order is an innovation (*bid'ah*), which is forbidden by Allah and his Prophet and his Companions and by the learned (*'Ulema*).

This is also the case if by the words Naqshbandi Order they mean the people who say that man is composed of ten Subtleties,[1] five of which are called the World of Command (*'Alamu'l-Amr*), namely the Heart, Spirit, Mystery, Secret and Most Secret (*Qalb, Ruh, Sirr, Khafi, Akhfa*); and the other five are called the World of Creation (*'Alamu'l-Khalq*), namely—the subtlety of the soul (*nafs*) and the four elements (water, air, earth, fire). They say that the subtlety of the Heart is below the left breast, two fingers' breadth to the left, and that its color is yellow, and it is the seat of the authority of our lord Adam, and its origin—water, fire, air, earth; that the subtlety of the Spirit is below the right breast, two fingers' breadth to the right, its color red, and it is the seat of authority of our lords Abraham and Noah, and its origin fire; that the subtlety of the Mystery is located opposite the left breast, two fingers' breadth towards the chest, its color white, it is the seat of the authority of our lord Moses, and its origin is water; that the subtlety of the Secret is opposite the right breast, two fingers' breadth towards the chest, its color green, it is

1 See note at the end of this article.

the seat of authority of our lord 'Isa (Jesus), and its origin is air; that the subtlety of the Most Secret is located in the middle of the chest, its color black, it is the seat of authority of our lord Mohammed, and its origin is earth; that the subtlety of the Soul (brain) is located in the forehead and the whole head. These people also say that in the way of approach to Allah three things are stipulated—(1) The secret *Dhikr* (mentioning Allah in the thoughts); (2) *Murāqabah* (spiritual communion); (3) Producing the form of the teacher (*shaikh*) who causes the result and union (*tawajjuh?*).

These *murāqabah* are stated to be of twenty kinds—(1) *Murāqabah ahadīyah*—directing the heart towards the essence of the one God. (2) *Murāqabah Ma'īyah*—directing the heart towards the God who is with us in all our parts (the five senses); (3) *Murāqabah Aqrabīyah*—directing the heart towards the essence of God who is nearer to us than the neck artery; (4) *Murāqabah Mahabbah fi'd-Dā'irati'l-Ulā* (communion of love in the first mystic circle) directing the heart towards the essence of God who loves us and we love Him; (5) *Murāqabatu'l-Mahabbah fi'd-Dā'irati'th-Thānī* (communion of love in the second mystic circle) directing the heart towards the essence of the God of mutual love in the second circle, while we see that he has all the qualities which are ideas (*ma'ānīya*) and those which are derived from ideas (*ma'nawīya*); (6) *Murāqabatu'l-Mahabbah fī'l-Qaus* (communion of love in the bow) directing towards the God of mutual love in the half circle; (7) *Murāqabah-Wilāyati'l-'Ulyā* (communion of the spiritual power of the highest) directing towards the God who gives the spiritual power of the highest; (8) *Murāqabah Kamālāti'n-Nubūwah* (communion of the perfections of the Prophetship) directing towards the essence of our God who made the perfections of all the prophets; (9) *Murāqabah Kamālāti'r-Risālah* (communion of the perfections of the Apostleship) directing towards the essence of our God who made all the perfections of the

apostleship; (10) *Murāqabah Kamālāt Ulī'l-'Azm*) (communion of the perfections of the possessors of determination) directing towards the essence of our God who made the perfections of the possessors of determination; (11) *Murāqabatu'l-Mahabbah fī Dā'irati'l-Khullah* (communion of love in the mystic circle of friendship) contemplating God in the station of love, directing towards the essence of our God who made the reality of our lord Abraham, and took him as His friend (*Khalīl*); (12) *Murāqabah Dā'irati'l-Mahabbati's-Sirfah* (communion of the mystic circle of pure love) which is the reality of our lord Moses, directing towards the essence of our God who gave his love to our lord Moses as pure love; (13) *Murāqabatu'l-Mumtazijah bi'l-Mahabbah* (communion which is mixed with love) which is the reality of Mohammed, directing towards the essence of our God who made the reality of Mohammed of original love mixed with his love; (14) *Murāqabatu'l-Mahbūbīyati's-Sirfah* (communion of the beloved which is pure) which is the reality of Ahmad, directed towards the essence of our God, who made the reality of Ahmad of pure love; (15) *Murāqabatu'l-Hubbi's-Sirf* (communion of pure loving) directing towards the essence of our God, who gives pure love to his servants; (16) *Murāqabah lā ta'ayana* (communion—he is not manifest) directing towards the essence of our God who is not manifest to created things; even the nearest angels, the prophets and apostles; (17) *Murāqabah haqīqati'l-Ka'bah* (communion of the reality of the Ka'bah) directing towards the essence of our God who made the ka'bah as a place for all to worship; (18) *Murāqabah Haqīqati'l-Qur'ān* (communion of the reality of the Koran) directing towards the essence of our God who made the reality of the Koran; (19) *Murāqabah Haqīqati's-Salāt* (communion of the reality of worship) directing towards the essence of our God who made the reality of worship; (20) *Murāqabah Dā'irati'l-Ma'būdīyati's-Sirfah* (communion of the mystic circle of him who is worshipped)

directing towards the essence of our God to whom belongs the worship of all his creatures.

All of the above (says the writer) has been taken from a book named "Fathu'l-'Arifīn," [2] which deals with the Naqshbandi and Qādiri Orders. There is no truth in all of this, and if it did not take up too much space I could give a full contradiction to each of these *Murāqabah;* it is all confusion and innovation (*bid'ah*), and none of this was ever done by the Prophet or his Companions or by the holy fathers (*salaf*), for if they had done all of this, it would have been recorded in the Traditions, in which all the Prophet's most private actions are recorded.

The writer next states that the ten subtleties (*latā'if*) mentioned above were invented by the Imam Rabbānī, and the *khalwat* and *sulūk* (seclusion and asceticism) were invented by the Shaikh Khālid Kurdī. He then asks why the teachers of the Naqshbandi order do not teach the three sciences (*tawhīd, fiqh* and *tasawwuf*) which are necessary for every individual (*wājib 'ain*), instead of which they admit their pupils at once to the repetition of the *dhikr* and the directing of the heart towards Allah without teaching them what is essential of the three sciences, of which indeed most of these teachers are wholly ignorant. For they are altogether innovators, and have abandoned the original Naqshbandi Order, and invented an innovation which they call by that name, which they use as a worldly method of making money. In fact they have left the Naqshbandi Order and follow the devil's Order (*tarīqah shaitān*). They are following this fleeing world, and have turned from the future life which is eternal; not to call men to a high Order, but to pile up money, to seek pleasure (*ladhdhat*) and eat what is forbidden, and spend their lives in ignorance and sin. Whereas the true way is to follow the teachings of the Imam al-Ghazālī in his book *Ihyā' 'Ulūmi'd-Din,* and the Imām al-Qushairī and the Imam Suhrawardi, for in

2 In this book it is stated—"Our teacher was Shaikh Ahmad Khatīb ibn 'Abdu'l-Ghaffur Sambās, who lived and died at Mecca."

their books there is a distinction between the true and the false, and men are taught obedience, and to maintain their religious duties (*'ibādāt*).

In reply to the second question, as to the Naqshbandi pedigree (*silsilah*) going back to the prophet or not, the writer of the "Exposure" quotes traditions from Ahmad ibn Hanbal and others to show that the Prophet taught his Companions the repetition of the words "*Lā ilāha illa'llāh*" as a *dhikr;* for having first assured himself that no Jews or Christians were present, he ordered the door to be shut, and that his followers should raise their hands and repeat these words; after which he said, "Praise be to Allah, Thou hast sent me with this sentence, and ordered me to repeat it, and hast promised me the garden for that, and hast not broken the promise." Then he said, "Rejoice, for Allah has pardoned you." Another tradition is quoted, in which the Prophet is stated to have said that in the balances the words "*Lā ilāha illa'llāh*" would weigh more than the seven heavens and the seven earths; and after saying that, he taught 'Alī to imitate him in repeating this sentence three times in a loud voice with his eyes shut. The author does not appear to admit that there is any other authority for the use of the *dhikr,* and he repeats the assertion that was made in his reply to the first question as to the origin of the *dhikr* connected with the ten subtleties, and as to the origin of the ascetic practices.

Replying to the third question, as to whether abstinence from eating flesh has its origin in the Law, the writer quotes a verse from the Koran (23: 53) "Eat of the good things and do right," and says that Tabarī in his commentary explains the "good things" as meaning food which is pleasant and which the heart desires. To curb the desires in such things is to act like the priests and monks, who make women and the eating and drinking of pleasant things to be unlawful to themselves; Allah says, "O ye faithful, do not do as they do." Again he quotes the Koran (5: 89) as saying, "O ye who believe,

forbid not the good things which Allah has made lawful for you," and shows that Tabarī says this forbids abstaining from the eating of flesh.

In answer to the fourth question, "Do the periods of asceticism (*sulūk*) for forty or twenty or ten days have their origin in the Law or not?" he replies that if this question means, Did the prophet and his companions do these things? then the answer is that they did not, for if they had done so, this would have been clearly shown by those who were learned in the three sciences of Law, Tradition and Sufiism. But there is a difference of opinion among the learned as to whether seclusion and solitude are better than mingling with our fellowmen. After giving the names of those well known men who advocated each of the two sides of this question, he states that the arguments on both sides are given in al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' 'Ulūmi'd-Dīn,* and quotes from him the six advantages to be gained from seclusion, and the seven advantages of sociability. In the Naqshbandi Order the seclusion or retreat (*khalwat*) for forty or twenty days was first practised by the Shaikh Khālid Kurdī; it did not come from the Prophet or his Companions, but was the earnest effort (*ijtihād*) of the Sufis to overcome the carnal nature (*nafs*) and to enlighten the heart by means of the *dhikr.*

The explanation of the period of forty days is given by Suhrawardi; it comes from a tradition from the Prophet, which says that Allah will cause a fountain of wisdom to spring up from the heart to the tongue of him who worships him sincerely on forty mornings; also from the example of Moses (Koran 7: 138) "And we appointed for Moses thirty nights, and completed them with ten (more), so that the time appointed by his Lord was completed to forty nights;" there is also a tradition that the clay from which Adam was created was kneaded in Allah's hand for forty days. To reduce the period from forty days to twenty or ten would be a concession or indulgence (*rukhsah*), and only the Prophet could grant an indulgence; therefore the reduction of the retreat

(*khalwat*) to twenty or ten days is an innovation (*bidʿah*).

The true purpose of the retreat is an entire separation from worldly lusts in order to devote oneself entirely to the sincere worship of Allah, and any retreat which is not sincere is a cause of erring from true religion, and may result in discarding religion altogether for the sake of worldly pleasures and delights, and for getting many pupils (*murīd*) and servants, and many wives and a great reputation, and many people seeking a blessing from them, thinking that in all that they have come to Allah, whereas such people are worse than thieves and robbers, for the robbers know that they have committed a crime. Teachers such as this take people's money by fraud in the guise of religion, thinking they are performing worship and calling people to Allah, whereas they are calling them to a way which leads men astray; they are ignorant and have never in their lives performed worship; they persuade people to enter their Order, and when they have dragged them in, they teach them the *dhikr* and how to direct the heart, and tell them to enter a retreat, but they altogether omit to teach them the Law (*sharīʿah*), for most of them are ignorant of *tawhīd* and *fiqh* and *tasawwuf*.

The writer then gives five qualifications which are necessary for a teacher, and five disqualifications which would preclude a person from being a teacher; and he adds that there were few who were qualified to be teachers of the Orders in the days of the Imāms Qushairī and al-Ghazālī, and how much less would they be qualified in our days! In fact some people only enter the retreats in order to become a *khalīfah* (successor) to the teacher, and in order to get a certificate to that effect (*ijāzah*); and these certificates are not given to old and intelligent persons, but to the young and handsome, so that by that means they may mix with people's wives, and get money out of them. The chief desire of these teachers is to get many pupils and plenty of money; this is not

conduct worthy of Islam, much less of the Sufi Orders. They are very far from the true *tarīqah* and what it means.

The fifth and last question, "Has the *Rābitah* (that is the mystical connection of teacher and pupil) its origin in the Law or not?" is answered very definitely to the effect that the *Rābitah* is an innovation. Seven proof texts from the Koran and one from the Traditions are adduced to show that this is so. The prophet said, "That you should worship Allah is as if you should see him." Now when the teacher tells his pupil that he must think of his teacher as being present in his mind, because that will dispel his doubts when he is directing his heart towards Allah in the *dhikr,* by giving the pupil this command the teacher is not only putting himself together with Allah, but is actually putting himself *before* Allah. To cause the pupil to think of his teacher as being present in his mind with reverence and humility is just the same as thinking of Allah as being present in his *dhikr;* there is no difference between the two except in name.

After explaining these eight proof texts to show that the *Rābitah* is an innovation (*bid'ah*), the writer discusses very thoroughly no less than ten texts from the Koran and the Traditions which the Naqshbandi teachers have brought forward to prove that the *Rābitah* is based upon the foundations of the religion of Islam; he holds that these quotations do not justify such practices in the least, and that only ignorant people who do not understand legal proofs would accept such teaching. He urges his readers to study the three sciences—*Tawhīd, Fiqh* and *Tasawwuf,* and to learn to recite properly and correctly the *Fātiha* and the *Tashahhud,* without which their worship cannot be valid.

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[NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE *Lata'if*]

The following notes in regard to the *Latā'if* which are mentioned above as being taught by the Naqshbandi teachers are taken from "Studies in Tasawwuf," by Khaja Khan, B. A., Madras, 1923.

"Shaikh Ahmad, the Mujaddid of the eleventh century, has according to the progress of his *sālik* in the upward course, seen different colors at different stages. He—a Naqshbandi mystic—is the discoverer of six positions in the part of man's body between the neck and the navel, which he has called the six subtleties (*Latā'if sitta*), one encircling the other, much after the manner of Kundalini (the circles) of Patanjali. The color of *qalb* is yellow; of soul, red; of *sirr,* white; of *khafī,* black; and of *akhfa,* green. It may be noted that these stages are according to the stages given in the doubtful *hadith* mentioned in the *Ihyā' 'Ulūmi'd-Din* of Ghazzālī, namely, that in the body of man there is a lump of flesh; in this lump there is *qalb* or mind; in mind, reason; in reason, *fuwad;* in *fuwad* there is *khafī;* and in *khafī* there is "I." (On pages 81 and 171 of this book the Arabic text of this tradition is quoted, but the two quotations do not quite agree.) Some say that the color of *nafs* is blue, and of *ruh* ochre. When the *nafs* entirely disappears, whiteness overshadows. The color of soul often becomes green, the last stage is colorlessness, everything disappearing, and leaving the *salik* in a state of *fana,* the transcendental wonder spoken of by Tennyson, which the Sufis call *Alam-i-Hayrat.* The color of the cloth, specially the headdress, is indicative of the stage of the pilgrim's journey, *e. g.,* if this cloth is of ochre color, it means that his *sulūk* has reached the stage of *rūh.*"

On page 189 of the same book the author gives the location of the six *latā'if—nafs, qalb, rūh, sirr, khafī, akhfa,* and then adds, "The *faqīrs* of the Naqshbandi Order and the followers of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind practise on these points; other Sufis have not faith in them."

On page 171, in his definition of the term *Ananiyat* (*ego* of God), he says, "The *ananiyat* of *abd* is the *ananiyat* of God in limitation. (Then after quoting the *hadith* mentioned above.) The *ananiyat* is thus hidden under seven sheaths, *akhfa, khafī, sirr, rūh, fuwad, muzga, jasad.* Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindi has located his six subtleties (*latā'if*) thus: *akhfa* in the head-plate, *khafī* in the forehead, *rūh* in the right side, *qalb* in the left, *sirr* above the navel, and *nafs* in the navel."

In "Les Confréries Religieuses Musulmanes," MM. Depont and Coppolani give the chain of *shaikhs* following Naqshbandi as follows, on page 523.

"Chah-Naqechabend-Beha-ed-Din.
Mohammed-el-Bokhari-A'lah-ed-Din-el-A'ttar.
Ya'coub-el-Djarkhi-el-A'sari.
Khaouadja-Ahrar-Obeïd-Allah-es-Samarqandi.
Mohammed-ez-Zahaïd.
Ed-Derouich-Mohammed.
Khaouadjaqi-es-Samarqandi-el-Amkani.
Mohammed-el-Baqi.
Ahmed-el-Farouqi-es-Serahendi, etc."

From this it appears that Khaja Khan's "Shaikh Ahmad of Sarhind or Sirhind" was the eighth successor from Naqshbandi.

W. G. S.

THE PATRIARCHS OF THE NEAR EAST

In announcing that it is prepared to allow the Greek Orthodox Patriarch to remain at Constantinople, provided that he ceases to exercise civil and administrative powers, the Angora government did not disestablish a church; it decapitated a nation. The decision strikes at the foundation of one of the main pillars of Islamic society. It introduces an innovation of far-reaching effect, which, if adhered to, may lead to endless complications.

Sultan Muhammad II, on the very day of his entry into Constantinople, took measures for the election of a new Greek Patriarch to be chosen and consecrated according to ancient usage. The choice of the Synod fell upon a monk named Gennadius.

The Sultan invited him to a sumptuous repast, and when Gennadius was about to withdraw, bestowed upon him a precious sceptre, and thus addressed him: "Be the Patriarch, and may Heaven protect you. Enjoy all the rights and privileges that your predecessors have enjoyed before you." His prerogatives and those of his church were further safeguarded by an Imperial decree.[1] The existence of this document was established to the satisfaction of a Turkish Sultan in a somewhat unusual manner and under very trying circumstances.

It appears that about sixty years after the capture of Constantinople, Sultan Salim I, the grandson of the Conqueror, determined to rid himself of his Christian subjects unless they immediately embraced Islam. Muhammad II and his successor had treated the vanquished with such toleration that whilst the stake was made ready in

1 Ubicini: "Letters on Turkey," translated from the French by Lady Easthope, Vol. II, p. 127.

Christendom for those who refused to share the religious belief of the rulers of the land, a Christian slave could, with impunity, worship his God according to his conscience in the capital of Islam.

One day, however, so it is related by Cantemir, Salim summoned his Grand Vizier, Piri Pasha, and said to him: "Too long have these infidel *Rayahs*[2] polluted the air with their infectious breath; let them embrace the true faith or disappear from my sight." The Grand Vizier, having in vain endeavored to dissuade the Sultan from a measure both sanguinary and impolitic, consulted with the *Mufti*,[3] and both proceeded to give warning to the Patriarch with suggestions as to the course he should adopt. The Patriarch attended by the whole body of his clergy, solicited an audience. He began by quoting certain texts of the Koran which forbid conversion by violent means. He then proceeded to base his plea upon a written guarantee alleged to have been given to the Greeks by Muhammad II at the time of the capture of Constantinople. He set forth that, while one half of the city was taken by assault, the other surrendered voluntarily and opened its gate to the Sultan on the faith of a treaty solemnly sworn to by him. The Patriarch affirmed that the original document had been destroyed in a fire, but that he was prepared to prove the truth of his statement by the testimony of three Janissaries, each more than a hundred years old, who had taken part in the conquest, remembered the incident and would vouch for the truth of his affirmation. This convinced the Sultan and the Greek nation was saved.[4]

A consideration of certain fundamental principles underlying Islamic civilization will show why the Sultan's Grand Vizier and *Mufti*, both Mohammedans, were so very anxious to stay the hand of their master. It was "not that they loved Cæsar less, but that they loved Rome more."

2 The term *Rayah* literally means flock, and is applied to Ottoman Christians and Jews.
3 Legal adviser to the Sultan.
4 Cantemir, "Histoire Ottomane." Vol. II, page 46.

Whilst Christianity strives for the conversion of mankind in order that the name of the Almighty may be glorified throughout the world, the devout Moslem offers no such prayer. He suffers no sorrow from the reflection that millions of his fellow creatures are not of the elect of God.

According to Mohammedan writers, the world at large falls into two parts, the house of Islam (*Dar al-Islam*) and the house of War (*Dar al-Harb*). The latter is subdivided into two classes. The first consists of idolators, who must either be converted to Islam or die. The second is made up of Christians and Jews, who are grouped under the style of the "People of the Book," and who, upon submission to the victorious Moslems, enjoy the privilege of living and of preserving not only their religion but also their property, their customs and their laws—their *Forum*—and their *Jus*. In other words, as far as Christians and Jews are concerned, Islam simply and solely desires that the Church and the Synagogue pay a ransom to the Mosque, or as the Koran expresses it, that "they pay tribute by right of subjection and they be reduced low," etc.[5]

Accordingly, it is the duty of *Rayahs*[6] to pay a tribute, known as *Kharaj,* and a special *per capita* tax, to wear a distinctive dress, and to so comport themselves in the presence of Moslems as to bear witness to their inferiority to True Believers. The vanquished Greeks had complied with these conditions. They were, therefore, according to Mohammedan law, considered as placed under protection. It was for this reason that the Grand Vizier and *Mufti,* both Mohammedans, felt that the fair name of Islam was pledged to secure to the Greeks the free exercise of their religion and the undisturbed possession of their property.

Mohammed thus moulded a golden key for "the People of the Book," so that it might unlock the store-

5 The Koran, Sura IX (Immunity) 29.
6 Christian and Jewish subjects of an Islamic power, see *ante.*

house of their wealth for the beloved of God. In order, however, that society should thus be divided into warriors and purveyors, it was expedient, if not necessary, that the two classes should be segregated, the one from the other, and that each should administer its own house, through its own staff, and according to its own by-laws, rules and regulations.

The Oecumenical Patriarch, as the ranking member of the Orthodox Church, was deemed by the Turks to be best qualified to act as the head of the Hellenic Community, and, therefore, to paraphrase the words of Finlay, he was made a kind of under-secretary to the Grand Vizier for the affairs of the conquered Greeks.

Islamic polity, which, therefore, made of the subject Christians a veritable nation incorporated into the Ottoman State but not absorbed by it, found it to its own interests to add to the power and prestige of the Patriarchs. As long as Christian emperors ruled the land, the sovereign claimed and exercised the right of active intervention in questions of church discipline and even of dogma. The Moslem chiefs set up no such pretensions, and the freedom of action thus assured to the Patriarch added enormously to his influence.

The army which accompanied Muhammad II into Constantinople was a relatively small force. The number of Mohammedan men, women and children, who followed the victorious troops, represented but a fraction of the total population of the new province. Compulsory mass conversion of the inhabitants was not attempted, as has been before explained. The Conqueror, far from endeavoring to deprive Byzance of its Hellenic aspect, issued a Firman enjoining, under pain of death, all Greeks dispersed through Anatolia to take up their residence in the capital. As the result of this policy the dominant religious caste continued for centuries to represent but a minority of the inhabitants of the conquered area.

Even as Lord Cromer in the nineteenth century laid the foundations for the rejuvenation of Egypt by assuring the maintenance of peace by a small army and the orderly administration of the country by a handful of capable British officials, the Moslem leaders of old, while keeping their hands upon the rudder of the ship of State, left the dull details of routine government in the hands of the native element. The Turks were rude warriors, face to face with a superior civilization, which they had the abiding common sense not to destroy. They merely sought to transplant into a new sphere an armed force, and to make of the conquerors the dominant factors of the State.

This fact explains the phenomenal success which attended Moslem arms from the very day when the Arabs of the desert migrated from their inhospitable homes and conquered the fertile fields of the Byzantine empire. A vigorous and energetic people were driven by hunger and want to overrun the richer fields of populations which had preserved the effete culture of a decaying civilization. The practical Arabs knew that they could not continue to extend their empire unless their lines of communication were safeguarded and certain central fortresses assured to them. They were aware of the fact that they could not govern a given occupied area by brute force unless they were prepared to maintain a strong garrison. They needed their troops to conquer new pastures, and they could not sacrifice their soldiers for police work. They made no attempt at converting the vanquished, not only because a Moslem never seeks to impose his faith upon any one, but also because such missionary work would have killed the goose which lays the golden egg.

That practical form of Home Rule was, therefore, evolved which allowed the conquered people to conduct those matters which most intimately concerned them, "provided they paid tribute by right of subjection" to the war chest of the conqueror. This expedient meant

that no budgetary trouble worried the invincible Moslem. His wars were financed by the vanquished, whose religion remained unassailed because the soldiers wanted to have as many tax payers as possible, and the tax payers were willing to be generous in order not to be soldiers.[7] This happy union of the sword of the brave and the purse of the weak created a combination which for several centuries remained invincible.

The powers and prerogatives of the Oecumenical Patriarch are set forth at length in the *Hatti-Sherif,* said to have been promulgated by Muhammad II at the time of the installation of Gennadius, immediately following the surrender of Constantinople. By this charter the Patriarch enjoyed the rank of a Vizier, and was entitled to a guard of Janissaries. He represented the Greek commonwealth in its relations with the Ottoman State. The Sublime Porte simply informed him how much money the Greeks were supposed to pay as a tribute, and left to him to apportion the contribution as he chose.[8] The Turkish authorities at no time interfered with him in his management of his flock, and they lent him the executive force of their military army or police whenever he applied for it, but at the same time always gave him to understand that he was a veritable hostage for the good behavior of his nationals.

At the head of the Greek community the Patriarch was granted judicial powers, and exclusive competence was accorded to his tribunal to decide all causes affecting the members of his commonwealth and bearing upon marriage contracts, divorce, wills and testaments, guardianship of minors and interdicts, as well as all actions at law between two or more Greeks. Larcenies and offences of minor importance committed by his subjects were also within the purviews of the authority of the

7 It may not be amiss to point out, by way of parenthesis, that this fundamental isolation of the non-Mohammedan population contains the germ of those rights enjoyed in Islam by foreigners, and known as Capitulations.

8 "The Greek population," says Montesquieu in his "Esprit des Lois," "instead of the continual vexations to which they were subjected by the refined avarice of the Emperor, found themselves amenable to a tribute plain in its character and easy of collection and they were happier under the rule of a barbarous nation than under a corrupt government."

Patriarchal Court. Among the sentences which it could lawfully inflict were imprisonment and, in certain cases, sentence to the galleys.

The Patriarch was elected by the Holy Synod and presided over it. This body, originally composed of all the Metropolitans and Archbishops residing at Constantinople, formed, as it were, the council of the nation. It represented, in a measure, the legislative authority of which the Patriarch was the executive. From this body emanated all ecclesiastical decisions and regulations. An appeal lay to it from the judgments of all subordinate courts. It also administered the revenues of the church and of the nation in general. Every bishop, whether Metropolitan, Archbishop or Suffragan, enjoyed in his diocese the same prerogatives as the Patriarch of Constantinople.

Muhammad II founded but two Patriarchs, one for the administration and government of the Greek community and another for that of the Armenians. He also created a Rabbinate; placed at its head a Rabbi named Moche Capsali and gave him the same attributes, in respect of the Jews, as had been conferred upon the Greek and Armenian Patriarchs. In the course of time, however, it became manifest that far more than three non-Mohammedan nations inhabited Ottoman soil. The existence of these antagonistic elements necessitated the granting of charters to the various religious groups, which constitute so many distinct commonwealths.[9]

Enlightenment spells leadership, and guided by a polity which did not destroy but which preserved and bent to its own ends the culture of Byzance, Islam swept everything before it. Schools flourished in the East under the intelligent leadership of Khalifs and Sultans during decade after decade, when intellectual anarchy reigned in the West. In time, however, Europe awakened from

9 The following is a list of the Ottoman non-Moslem nations, recognized by the Porte as late as the outbreak of the Great War: (1) Greek Orthodox; (2) Greek Melekite Orthodox; (3) Maronite; (4) Gregorian Armenian; (5) Catholic Armenian; (6) Syrian Jacobite; (7) Orthodox Coptic; (8) Catholic Coptic; (9) Orthodox Chaldean; (10) Catholic Chaldean; (11) Protestant; (12) Orthodox Jews; (13) Caraite Jews.

the disturbed slumber of the Middle Ages, whereas the *'Ulema* (doctors of law) began to encourage the idea that all truths were already known, and that there was nothing further to be achieved in the fields of knowledge. The past came to be synonymous with wisdom; every improvement was deemed to be a dangerous innovation. Believing that the knowledge it has inherited was far greater than any it could obtain, Mohammedanism desired to preserve its intellectual possessions whole and unimpaired, inasmuch as the least alteration in them might lessen their value. Islam therefore slept on, untroubled, unheeding, impassive; receiving no impressions from the rest of the world, and perfectly content to make of to-day a reproduction of yesterday and of to-morrow a revival of to-day.

The entire fabric of Mohammedanism presupposes a victorious Islam. As late as 1683, Kara Moustapha besieged Vienna, but before the nineteenth century was well under way it had become patent to enlightened Ottoman statesmen that Turkey was not only distanced in the race for the leadership, but that with each succeeding year the breach was widening. While nothing was done on anything approaching a general scale to change the intellectual programme of Islam, many plans were discussed for bringing order out of chaos.

As the military powers of Moslem arms had laid the foundation of the Ottoman empire, the first reform was made in the army. The Janissaries were abolished, and a modern system of recruitment was introduced. It was soon seen, however, that an army can no more create a state than a uniform can make a soldier. Therefore, other remedies were sought. All agreed that the Turk was desperately ill. There were many doctors and more prescriptions. Some said that it was autonomy or autopsy. Others, on the contrary, believed that all of these diverse laws and different courts were radically wrong; that a healthy state, like a normal man, could have but

one body and but one constitution, and that the proper thing to do was to unify legislation and to make it applicable to all of the inhabitants, be they Moslem, Christian or Jew. Those who held to the latter view were subdivided into two great branches, who may be referred to as Liberals and Conservatives. The former desired to secularize the law, to choose from the West all that was best, and to have this modern system administered by trained professional judges. The latter felt that Turkey was crumbling to pieces because the basis of unity was not Islamic law. They were perfectly willing that everyone should be allowed to worship his God according to his conscience, but they insisted that the *shari'a,* or Moslem sacred law, should be applied to everybody, and that the *qadi* and not modern judges should be charged with its enforcement.

The result of this decision was that in 1839 the then reigning Turkish sovereign proclaimed a *Hatti-Sharif,* an organic Charter of Liberties, sometimes known in history as the *Tanzimat.* Security of life, honor and property was guaranteed to every subject; taxes were to be imposed and collected according to a fixed method; military service was to be regulated; the administration of justice was to be reformed and something in the nature of a representative Council called into being.[10] The *Tanzimat,* in addition to these more or less vague guarantees, contained the categorical assurance that " a penal code will be drafted." Accordingly certain general principles of criminal law were formulated the next year, followed in 1858 by a penal code reproducing, in part, entire articles of the French penal code. During this same period there were enacted a commercial code, a code of maritime commerce, and codes of penal and commercial procedure.[11] Decrees were also promulgated regulating questions affecting real property, nationality, public health, education, etc. All of this legislation bears

10 Marriott, " The Eastern Question," page 250.
11 Aristarchi Bey. "Legislation Ottomane." I. p. 275, II. pages 353-374.

upon subjects not covered by the *shari'a,* or sacred law of Islam. Between 1868 and 1876, however, certain principles incorporated therein were codified. This compilation is known as the *Medjelle.*[12]

It will be noted that these various reforms, however drastic or sincere they may have been, did not in any way cross the threshold of the home or impinge upon such preserves as the law of private or personal status. They left untouched the division of the Turkish state into a congeries of nations inhabiting the same soil, and represented at the Sublime Porte by a Patriarch, *Wakil,*[13] or Rabbi, as the case may be. It may therefore be said that the basic segregation of the Ottoman empire into unabsorbed commonwealths, existing in juxtaposition, was strengthened rather than weakened by the legislation just mentioned.

The Crimean War had hardly ended when public opinion in Europe insisted that something should be done to ameliorate the condition of Ottoman Christians. The various chancelleries were seeking to evolve a formula which would safeguard the susceptibilities of the Sublime Porte and at the same time afford adequate protection to the *Rayahs,* when, in February 1856, the Sultan solved this diplomatic problem by issuing the Imperial Irade known as the *Hatti-Houmayoun.*

This decree granted to every subject of the Porte, without distinction of creed or class, personal liberty; equality before the law; complete religious freedom; equality of taxation and collection thereof by the State itself; suppression of the *per capita* charge formerly imposed upon all Ottoman Christians and Jews; revision of the privileges and immunities of the non-Mohammedan communities, coupled, however, with a distinct reaffirmation of those privileges and immunities in respect of all matters spiritual; confirmation of the temporal jurisdic-

12 The eight books or sections which make up the *Medjelle* form the VI & VII parts of the digest issued by Aristarchi Bey known as Legislation Ottomane.

13 The head of the Protestant community is known as a *Wakil;* the word derives from the Arabic and means Deputy.

tion exercised in certain cases by the heads of the non-Mohammedan Ottoman communities; and admission of all subjects to the army and to the civil service.[14]

Shortly after the issuance of the *Hatti-Houmayoun,* the Sultan ordered the calling together of a National Assembly[15] of each Ottoman non-Mohammedan community, in order that steps might be taken to define and codify the privileges and immunities reserved to these bodies. This *ukase* was obeyed. Generally speaking, it may be said that the powers and attributes of the various nations were vested in their Chief (Patriarch, Rabbi or *Wakil*) acting by and with the advice of a council composed of ecclesiastics and laymen.

The maintenance of Patriarchal, Rabbinical and *Wakilat* Tribunals was confirmed, and exclusive competence accorded to them in the following matters affecting members of their respective nations: marriage, divorce, alimony, wills and testaments, guardianship of minors and interdicts, adoption, etc. In other words, out of the crucible of the reforms of 1856 the cornerstone of Patriarchal authority laid by Muhammad II passed unscathed. Outside of the loss of criminal jurisdiction and of competence to try ordinary actions at law between two or more Greeks, the Patriarch maintained unimpaired the franchise conferred upon his predecessor in 1453. The control of every question affecting the intimate relations of life remained in him. Each church continued to be a nation; each religious organization an autonomous commonwealth. As no Ottoman subject could conduct business in Turkey without a permit known as a *taskara,* and as such an authorization can only be given upon the *visa* of the chief of the nation to which the applicant belongs, the Patriarch had within his hands an effective means of making his nationals know that there was a God in Israel, and that the authority of his Vicar could not be flaunted!

14 The complete text of the *Hatti-Houmayoun* is set forth as an appendix to the admirable work by Sesostris Sidarous Bey entitled "Les Patriarchats."

15 This very term "National Assembly" is used in the decree which summoned these meetings. See Young, "Corps du Droit Ottoman" Vol. II, page 137.

Legislative reforms constituted the dominant note of the *Hatti-Sharif* of 1839; equality was the watchword of the *Hatti-Houmayoun*. Neither decree worked the desired miracle, and many sincere Turks believed that nothing but a constitution could save their distracted country. Such a bill of rights was adopted in 1876. It failed to prove a panacea for Turkey's woes, and the personality of Abdul Hamid soon made of it a dead letter. This charter was followed during the early days of the twentieth century by another constitution, but no attempt was made by either of these organic laws, or by any other legislation, to change the truly national character of the several Patriarchats.

It therefore follows that until a few short months ago the Turkish State remained true to the cardinal principle set forth in the commission of investiture given in 1453 by Muhammad II to the Patriarch Gennadius. The new policy, if properly defined in the press dispatches, not only undoes the work of centuries, but, if carried through, is pregnant with possibilities of far reaching consequences. It is very praiseworthy on the part of the statesmen whose moral courage and military prowess called the Angora government into being to desire to give to Ottoman nationality that sense of unity and of territorial allegiance which has made of the states of the Occident compact, homogeneous bodies, but facts are stubborn things and the work of centuries cannot be undone by the stroke of a pen or by the cut of a sabre.

Satisfied of the superiority of his own creed, though in no sense desirous of imposing it upon other men, the True Believer, and especially the Osmanli, looks upon other religions with haughty contempt, modified only by the innate benevolence of his disposition. The following story may be taken as an illustration. A dispute having one day arisen between a Christian of the Greek and one of the Latin church about the merits of their respective creeds, both parties appealed to an old Turk who hap-

pened to be present. "Ah!" he exclaimed, "What a useless waste of words! Black hog or white hog, a hog is still a hog."

The condition of the Greeks after the conquest appears to have been better than it had been under the Byzantine Emperors. They deemed the city of Constantine less polluted by the presence of infidels than it had been during the Crusades by those whom they regarded as heretics. When the Turks were under the walls of their capital, the Prime Minister of the Emperor was heard to declare that he would rather behold in Constantinople the turban of Mohammed than a cardinal's hat. Nevertheless, though the Turkish domination rarely affected either the material or the spiritual interests of the vanquished nations, it become odious to them as a result of that natural disposition of mankind to resent insult more bitterly than injury. The degraded *Rayahs* bore up with fortitude against a trial which they dignified with the name of martyrdom, and they evolved from their inner consciousness a species of counter-irritant which widened the impassable boundary between them and Islam. With religion and centuries of smouldering hatred thus creating two great currents, mutually antagonistic but saved from contact by a perfect system of moral insulation, it would appear that if an attempt were suddenly made to break down this safety device, the result would not be amalgamation or coalescence, but an explosion of staggering force.

Amalgamation and mass conversion fail to offer a solution, the only remaining alternatives are annihilation or deportation.

Deportation on a scale sufficient to wipe out the bulk of the *Rayahs* is practically impossible. Even if carried out, it would create a void which would react upon the aggressor. The Turk is essentially either a soldier or a farmer. He is a brave fighter and an industrious tiller of the soil. Commerce, as such, he despises; banking lies

without his horizon, and the law, medicine and other liberal professions, as the term is understood in the Occident, interest but relatively few of his fellows. The Turkish State deprived of the despised Christians and Jews would soon find its body politic so atrophied and paralyzed that even the heroism of the troops would not be able to save it from inanition, decay and total collapse.

Present indications tend to show that the Angora government desires that the privileges and immunities of the heads of the Ottoman non-Mohammedan communities be confined simply and solely to matters spiritual, not because it is opposed to the Church or to the Synagogue, but because it wishes to create a Turkish nationality in the modern sense of the term. Such a plan, however, cannot validly be carried through by the total suppression of these franchises if Turkey is to remain true to the religion of Mohammed, for the basic principle of Islam precludes the possibility of the complete absorption of unbelievers into the *Dar al-Islam,* or the assimilation of them to the elect of Allah. The Arabs have a proverb which says: "Mingle in the same vase the blood of a True Believer and that of an Infidel, and you will see them separate of themselves." Evolution, nevertheless, offers an exit from the labyrinth, and Egypt points the way.

The population of the valley of the Nile is, it is true, largely Mohammedan, but it contains an important minority of Christians and Jews. The issue is further complicated by the presence of larger foreign colonies than are to be found in the Ottoman Empire.

The formation in Egypt of a judicial body composed partly of Egyptian and partly of foreign judges, vested with authority to decide all civil and commercial cases between subjects of adverse nationality, has solved one of the many difficult problems which formerly confronted Egypt. The creation of a native Egyptian bench composed largely of Egyptian judges and applying modern

codes of civil, commercial and criminal law, and extending its jurisdiction to causes affecting crimes and misdemeanors committed by Egyptians and to actions at law between Egyptians, has been productive of the most happy results. In Egypt all the Patriarchal, Rabbinical and *Wakilat* tribunals which constitute the very essence of the genius of the Near East continue to exist, but their jurisdiction is restricted to questions intimately connected with the personal status of their Nationals. It is true that a movement has been on foot for many years to introduce further reforms into the judicial system of Egypt, but at the present moment every indication tends to show that the constituted authority of the country is not endeavoring to modify the attributes of the ecclesiastical courts, but is seeking simply and solely to curtail the capitulatory rights of the foreign powers.

In other words, Egypt has largely secularized its law, and has not sought to undo the work of Muhammad the Conqueror. It has labored in the direction of creating a strong modern judiciary, responsive to the highest ideals; but it has, at the same time, remained true to the fundamental tone of the Islam which finds concrete expression in the maintenance of those ecclesiastical tribunals which crystallize the individuality of the constituent elements of the State.

PIERRE ARNINJON,
PIERRE CRABITES.

Cairo, Egypt.

ARMENIANS AND THE EVANGELIZATION OF MOSLEMS

I have noticed with interest the article which appeared in the January number (Vol. XX, No. 1) of THE MOSLEM WORLD. The author of the article, Mr. W. Wilson Cash, makes some interesting remarks as to the first efforts of the missionaries in Persia and in the whole Near East. He writes:

"When the C. M. S. first commenced work in Persia, the Moslems were to a large extent inaccessible."

So thought, of course, other missionaries also when they first came to Turkey, which meant almost the whole Near East a century ago.

"A colony of orthodox Armenians in Julfa seemed to offer an open door for evangelism, and work was begun among them . . . a Protestant church was created at the expense of the Armenians. The theory was that they would evangelize the Persians. Have they?"

It seems that this Armenian Protestant church in Julfa has not felt any responsibility for such a missionary work; and it seems the writer of this article had come across this same spirit in different parts of the Near and Middle East. Without entering into a discussion here of the efforts which the first missionaries displayed among the Armenians to create Protestant churches instead of giving all their time and energy for the evangelization of Moslems, for which they were sent, I want to state some facts here, and then take up the subject which the topic of my article suggests.

Have the Armenian Protestant churches fulfilled the hopes and the expectations put on them by the first missionaries who founded these churches? This question is

asked by Mr. Wilson Cash and also by many other missionaries. It is too late to ask such a question and answer it negatively. It would have been fairer to have asked, "Have those first missionaries who founded these new churches taught them in the same spirit?" Have they?

The missionaries, finding the Moslems inaccessible, and not willing to pay the price for evangelizing them, have turned to the Armenians, that in a way they might justify their presence in these countries for more than a long century. Protestant Armenians are grateful for the help thus rendered to them. The early Protestant churches among the Armenians were not trained in the missionary spirit, and to expect from them a missionary work without leading them in such a direction will certainly result in disappointments and failures. This fact seems so obvious to these Armenian Protestant churches that they feel rather astonished when they hear that they have not fulfilled the hopes of the missionaries by evangelizing their Moslem neighbors. The Armenian Protestant churches, and in fact all Armenians, have not felt and still do not feel to a large extent that responsibility, because they were not taught to do so.

It is true that the Armenian church and the Armenian nation as a whole have had missionary activities in the past and have evangelized the surrounding races, but due to certain circumstances in the history of the Armenian nation that missionary zeal and ability have died out completely. On the other hand there has been only a shifting of interest and effort on the part of the missionaries because of some special difficulties which the evangelization of the Moslem world represents, without any far reaching scheme on their part, such as the evangelization of the Moslem world.

Armenians, whether the members of the old church or the newly formed Armenian Protestant churches, ought to evangelize Moslems, and I believe they can accomplish such a task. The only thing they expect of

the missionaries is that they might be led and be supported for such an undertaking. Thus far they have not been. Much of the missionary effort has been wasted in criticizing, and that bitterly sometimes, the old Armenian church, and in augmenting the number of their new recruits, and that from the poorer classes who did not present any chance of carrying out such a great scheme as the evangelization of the Moslem world.

Armenians, being age-long neighbors of the Moslems, well know their psychology and mentality. They can approach, easily and frankly, any Moslem without prejudicing him in any way. There is no wholesale evangelization nowadays, perhaps it is not desirable. The best way of evangelization is through personal contact and influence and persuasion, leading each Moslem personally to Christ. This can be done only by devout Christians going personally to Moslems; speaking in their own tongues; meeting them on their own ground; and bringing them to Christ directly. Such a task can be more effectively performed by a neighbor of a man than by a foreigner. If Christ is to be exalted before a Moslem, there no political or other considerations enter, because this is a matter of souls. And where such considerations enter, there can be no true evangelization. And who can exalt Christ better before Moslems in His full glory and attraction and make known His irresistible power than the downcast and persecuted poor neighbor of the same Moslem, when he is caught by a new vision and glory? Instead of asking "Have they"? let the missionaries work on this line, and then they will be entitled to expect such a work from them.

Moreover, the Armenian church and Armenian people in general are a martyred church and a martyred people. The supreme witness of so many Armenians sacrificing willingly their lives and everything they possessed for Christ, certainly constitutes eternal value for His Kingdom. One might ask, "But why has it not

yielded tangible results thus far?" Because no effort has yet been made to use those sacrifices. That pure and indomitable faith of the Armenian people, tried through fire and sacrifice, could have achieved wonders for Christ if it had been directed properly; and the blood of so many Armenian martyrs would not flow in vain—and I believe it has not flowed in vain even now—or would not seem to us so, if someone had known how to use it for such a purpose. Really, shall we not ask the missionaries what they were doing when large numbers of Armenians were in the arena to witness and die for Christ?

I want to state also that what some individual Armenians have been able to accomplish thus far, and are accomplishing still, in the field of evangelization of Moslems, and that without a proper leadership and support on the part of the missionaries, is wonderful and praiseworthy. I myself have been among the Moslems with the definite purpose of evangelization, and I know what things are possible in that way. As I stated, evangelism of Moslems should be carried on through individuals, and what some individuals have done here and there encourages us and fills us with hope for the future. I am not going to bring individual cases here, although they are not lacking, but it is a fact that the vision and the spirit and the willingness in so many Armenians to-day can achieve wonders for the Kingdom of God if only a right vision and leadership be given also to them. This is what we expect of missionaries before they expect anything from us in the way of tangible results in that field. Moreover, any converted Moslem needs a Christian environment to grow in. Who shall supply that environment? The missionaries, who often live apart from the native community, and so are not in intimate touch with them? The most a missionary can do is to furnish leadership, but he cannot be a Christian environment to the Moslem convert.

On the other hand, I want to acknowledge the en-

couraging fact that to-day many missionaries and missionary societies feel increasingly the need for cooperation with the native churches in the Near East for the evangelization of Moslems. It is good that not all the missionaries fling into our faces that ominous question, "Have they?" with the ready answer, "They have not," failing in our duties and privileges and disappointing our friends, the missionaries. For Christ and His work there is neither Jew nor Gentile; for the evangelization of the Moslems there is neither Westerner nor Armenian. All of us can do the work, and should do it; that should be our supreme task and responsibility, surely that is our privilege also. Let us cooperate.

Armenians, and I believe all the other members of the Eastern Christian churches, have the utmost willingness to cooperate with the missionaries and do their share also in this important work. It is up to the missionaries hereafter, if they have not done it heretofore, to make use of this willingness and render it really helpful. What we lack is the vision and the support. Let that come from the missionaries, and we shall bring forth and put at the feet of Christ all that we possess and deem worth while, even at the cost of our lives. There have been so many Armenians who have been through afflictions and martyrdoms for Christ. That spirit still prevails among the Armenian people; and it has become a part of their nature. Only it should be directed and led to its goal and to its best use. We hope that this spirit of cooperation will grow even to a greater extent among the missionaries, and among the home churches which send and support these missionaries, then the artificial wall erected between us and the missionaries will soon disappear as the result of this cooperation, and we shall be able to reflect Christ best through our lives and deeds to our neighbors and brothers—the Moslems.

Beirut. B. HAGOPIAN.

PADRI WARIS-UD-DIN, M. B. E.

This sketch of the life of Padri Waris-ud-Din is summarised from an Urdu pamphlet by his friend and fellow-convert Padri R. M. Wa'iz. The writer was originally named Rahmat Ali after the Shi'ah leader and grandson of Mohammed. At his baptism the name of 'Ali was changed to that of Christ and he became Rahmat Masih (Mercy of Christ). As preacher and later as clergyman connected with the Church Missionary Society, Padri R. M. Wa'iz has been a voluminous writer, especially of Christian hymns, and his *Rahat-i-Dil* (Heart's Ease) is a very widely used hymn-book among Panjabi village Christians. Every Urdu verse writer takes on a *nom de plume,* and Rahmat Masih chose that of Wa'iz (preacher). By this name he was ordained, and is known.

The Shi'ah sect of Islam, to which the Khoja clan belongs, forms a small minority of the Indian Moslems. They revere 'Ali the son-in-law of Mohammed as his only true successor, and the commemoration of his son's martyrdom at Karbala is the most distinctive observance of their religion.

It was at Narowal that Robert Bruce of the Church Missionary Society first labored, before he went to found their Persia Mission in 1869. The life of his successor, Rowland Bateman, has been depicted by an Indian civilian, Robert Maconachie (published by C. M. S. in 1917). Until recently Narowal was remote, and approached by the worst roads in the countryside; it is now a railway junction with lines in three directions.

H. U. Weitbrecht Stanton.

The town of Narowal is situated in the district of Sialkot in the Punjab. About half the 8,000 inhabitants belong to the Moslem sect known as Khojas. There are several varieties of this sect in India; those who belong to Narowal were originally Hindus of Multan, but they became Moslems at the time of the Emperor Ghori. They subsequently migrated to Narowal, and have been there for many generations. Their occupation is mainly trade of various kinds, and unlike other Moslems, they do not refuse to take interest in money. As a result, they are well-to-do; many of them are in good positions and they have spread to various towns. I have never known a beggar among these people, with the exception of two

blind men in my childhood. The Khojas are very much given to the worship of shrines and of the tomb of their founder. Amongst these people early in the last century, there was one who became President of the Municipal Council and Inspector of Municipal Taxation. A grandson of his was Waris Ali, the subject of this memoir.

When Waris-ud-Din was of school age he was entered in the mission school. It was a wonderful time. The school was carried on for the teaching of the Gospel, and not for the sake of grants. The head master, Mr. B. N. Ghosh, was a man whose whole life was devoted to the service of the Gospel; he not only taught it in lessons, but when school was over, the boys would talk to him of these things, and Waris-ud-Din was among those who did so. Mrs. Ghosh was like-minded, and a mother to the boys, so that they were drawn to Christ as if by their parents. The Bible teacher, himself a convert from among the Khojas, was a single-minded man, who knew how to tell Bible narratives most vividly.

As for the Reverend Rowland Bateman, what can I say? He was of high family and breeding, but he would have no servant at his door to prevent any one coming to him, whether at meal time or otherwise. His house was not an ordinary European bungalow, rather a kind of monastery, a native house in the Khoja quarter of Narowal. His door was open day and night to any who might come to hear and speak of Christ and His salvation. In the boys' sports he joined as one of themselves, and even when they lay down to sleep at night he would sit by and talk to them. Besides the instruction that he gave for two hours daily in the school, the intercourse in his house was a constant inspiration. The converts of this great missionary (now at rest) are many of them serving God in various capacities, some of them ordained, others as laymen; many have passed away. It was through the labors of these three men—the head master, the Bible teacher, and the missionary, that the great work in the school at Narowal was carried out.

It was there that I became acquainted with Waris-ud-Din. We were both lukewarm in our Shi'ah religion, and though we practiced its rites, we did not care for the funeral processions of Muharram. The Gospel became more and more real to us, for it was impressed upon us by Christian teachers, but the non-Christian teachers too were upright and not bigoted, especially our Persian master. He was a Sufi by profession. None of them that I can remember ever hindered one of us from reading the New Testament or becoming a Christian.

As a result of this instruction, several of the boys were preparing to become Christians, but inasmuch as they were under age, there was hesitation in baptizing them. However, in the year 1873, a family of Khojas became Christians, and at once the mission school was all but emptied. At one time there were only ten or twelve boys left, but the school was not closed. The teachers attended day by day, and bit by bit the boys came back and school work went on.

When I became a Christian, several other boys left their homes. Waris-ud-Din was one of them, and he came to Padri Bateman's house, which was situated about a furlong outside the town. Waris's father was a man of good standing, and consequently his son's conversion created a stir in the whole town. Relatives flocked in to see him and his people. This went on for some days. One day I remember before the sun had risen someone came saying that Waris's mother had come to see him. The old lady was sitting down near a sugar-cane field near the Padri's house. The boy was exceedingly fond of his mother, and at once consented to go and see her by himself. No sooner had he got to his mother than half a dozen stalwart young fellows emerged from the sugar-cane field and carried him off bodily, as wolves might carry off a lamb. Christian neighbors saw what was happening, but could only lament. Undoubtedly Waris's departure from his home to join the Padri was very trying for his parents and relatives, and even more

so to us was his forcible abduction from our midst. It seemed to us as if a tiger had carried away our brother to devour him. We knew what injuries they might do him. It was some time before we could hear how Waris was faring. Mr. Bateman laid a complaint before the magistrate, of violation of religious freedom. The court decided that while freedom of choice of religion was granted, the person in question was under age, and Waris-ud-Din was made over to his parents. Day and night we used to think of and pray for him. The Khoja community was infuriated, and no Christian could venture to pay a visit to Waris-ud-Din. It was in vain that Mr. Bateman repeatedly endeavored to get tidings of his fate. Somehow or other a year passed by, and when we were within a week of the date for Waris-ud-Din to become of age, there were great consultations as to how one could get in touch with him.

I can remember the day of his return. About three o'clock I was passing along the bazaar and saw him walking there. I followed him down a lane, and there was Waris standing. As it was a Hindu quarter of the town we were not afraid to embrace one another, but it was not safe to go out of the house. But he added: "Tell Padri Bateman Sahib that on Saturday I have to go to a certain village, and when I get away from there I will come to him." I asked if he had seen any Christian during his time of confinement, or whether any message had reached him. He said: "None whatever." I was the first Christian brother whom he had seen after that long imprisonment. Of course I told Mr. Bateman as soon as we separated, and I cannot describe how great was his joy when he received this news. It was like the resurrection of a beloved one from the dead.

The Padri Sahib at once began arrangements for the protection of Waris-ud-Din, for he anticipated that there might be considerable disturbance when he returned to us. It was desirable to send word to the Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot; but he did not want to send a letter

by post, still less by the hand of a non-Christian. Accordingly he asked my father and me to go. It was the rainy season, and everywhere the streams and ditches were overflowing. We had to cover a distance of thirty-two miles; the heat was extreme. At last we reached the Deputy Commissioner's house in Sialkot about noon. We told his servant that we wanted to see his master, and give him a letter at once. The servant averred that his master was asleep and we were refused our entreaty. As we went on talking the Sahib heard something going on, and came out on the veranda. I at once put Mr. Bateman's letter into his hands. Having read it he remarked that Mr. Bateman had sent us on a very important mission. "You will have to go back quickly, fatigued as you may be." I assured him that we were ready to start forthwith. After entertaining us hospitably, the Deputy Commissioner sent his orderly to get us an *ekka* (country cart). Our way back was very wearisome, but what did it matter when we arrived safe and sound the second day back at Narowal?

Mr. Bateman did not tell us what was in the letter, but next day, lo and behold, the Superintendent of Police and the *tahsildars* (sub-magistrates) of P— and of R— were there in Narowal, and nobody knew why all these officers had come.

Waris came in, according to his promise, and the court was held in the veranda of the missionary's bungalow. The Police Superintendent and the two *tahsildars* were seated there, and the parents of Waris, besides several of the city gentry who had been summoned. The Police Superintendent said: "Your son Waris became a Christian last year, and you arrested him and had him brought in court because he was under age, so he was given back to you. He is now of age. If he still wants to be a Christian, what have you to say against it?" Their reply was: "What can we say? Let him become a Christian." The Superintendent said: "Then you will not stir up strife or riot?" "No," said they, "how could we?" They did not know that Waris-ud-Din had come

to us, but supposed him to be in the village where he had gone. Besides that, was it not a year since he had either seen Christians or associated with them? He had been reading the Koran, saying the set prayers, he was not likely to want to become a Christian now.

The Superintendent at last said: "Where is Waris-ud-Din now?" They said: "He is gone away to a village." Meanwhile Waris was sitting behind a reed screen, hidden but able to see and hear what was going on. The Superintendent called out his name; he immediately came forward, and you can imagine the feelings of his relatives! They were utterly dumbfounded. Their bodies shriveled. Had you gashed them, no blood would have flowed.

Superintendent: "Why have you come here?"
Waris-ud-Din: "To become a Christian."
Superintendent: "Are you suffering any troubles at home?"
Waris-ud-Din: "None at all. They are all kind to me and I am comfortable enough."
Superintendent: "Then why did you want to become a Christian?"
Waris-ud-Din: "To get salvation. Islam cannot give me salvation; only Christ can do so."
Superintendent: "Do you want to stay with the Padri Sahib or in your parents' house?"
Waris-ud-Din: "I want to stay with the Padri Sahib."
Superintendent: "Has anybody offered you any inducement?"
Waris-ud-Din: "No one whatever. I have all I need at home, but I am willing to leave these things for the sake of my salvation. That is the only inducement."

For a lad like this to speak such things before a great gathering, including his own relatives was something very like a miracle. No one could now say that he had become a Christian from any covetous motive. His relatives had no more to say, and presently Waris Ali entered the Church by baptism and became Waris-ud-Din (Heir of the Faith). He honored his parents and helped his relatives as occasion offered, so that their sore feelings gradually wore down, and eventually he became something of a leader amongst them.

About this time the Hindu community of Narowal became excited by the conversion of a Brahman lad, D. N. P. Datta, who was kidnapped by his relatives, but event-

ually returned to Rowland Bateman after not a little hardship. He and Waris became bosom friends.

After a long life of Christian usefulness, Dr. Datta is now a retired officer of the Indian Medical Service. He writes in his reminiscences: "The year after Waris, God called me also, and gave me strength to confess Christ in baptism, and at this time Waris was a great help to me. I well remember how he and another Christian came to the Brahman quarter and comforted and strengthened me in resolve. On Waris' face there was a heavenly light which strengthened me also, and I was able to accept the message sent through him by Mr. Bateman. The next day I left my uncle's house and went to Amritsar, where I received baptism in the Indian Church, and Waris-ud-Din became my witness and brother in baptism."

Thus both these converts needed the protection of Mr. Bateman, as the parents of both were trying hard to win them back. Mr. Bateman's health compelled him to visit England, so he took both of them with him on his journey to Europe for six months. When they left, they did not know more than the first or second Reader in English, but during those six months they made good progress, and were able to read and write quite well—a great advantage to them through all their lives.

Their sojourn in England, and another one later on, greatly helped Waris in his spiritual life and general outlook, but in no way denationalized him. He lived in Indian style and for his countrymen, whether in the Five River Land (Punjab) or during war-time in the Two River Land. As manager to begin with, of a joint-stock Christian store, he was less successful; the community was hardly ripe for such a venture and he realized the defects of the money-making Khoja temperament. But as helper in the starting and maintenance of village schools and in pastoral work he was invaluable. The later years in India of his spiritual father, Rowland Bateman, were greatly cheered and lightened by the devoted and efficient help which the business talents of

Waris, combined with a marked degree of spiritual life, enabled him to give. Later on he was ordained, and posted to the Christian village of Clarkabad, and thence opened a new rural centre at Pattoki. He was a man of prayer, and when he insisted on going ahead to make preparations for a gathering of Christians or some other occasion, we found out casually that he always arranged to spend a spare half hour in prayer.

At length came the war and the call to Mesopotamia. Years before this the village missionaries of the C. M. S. in the Punjab had endeavored to move the military authorities to recruit soldiers for a Christian regiment, as one way of finding occupation, and a means of progress for the young men of the Christian villages. They had been unsuccessful, but Padri Thomas Howell had said: "If ever a Christian regiment is formed, then Waris-ud-Din will be the chaplain." When the Great War came, the Government was glad to recruit a pioneer troop from among the Christian laborers of the Central Punjab. Two such regiments were formed, one chiefly from among the Presbyterians, the other from among Anglicans. Waris-ud-Din was appointed chaplain for the latter, and, after training, this regiment was sent out to Mesopotamia, where the Christian soldiers did excellent work. He ministered to the various units of the regiment scattered up and down the Tigris from Baghdad to Basra. He was much impressed by the oriental Christian rites connected with funerals and the like, and felt that something more of this element might be useful among Indian Christians.

While warfare was going on he visited every place where men of his regiment were engaged, helping to look after their wants and supply their needs, and very often he himself paid for things which the soldiers asked to be purchased in Baghdad and sent to them. Waris-ud-Din was very popular among the officers, with whom he had wide acquaintance. The English officers appreciated his devotion and bravery, and treated him with respect. His own quarters were extremely simple, and his friends felt

that he did not pay sufficient attention to appearances in his dress. However, an English officer once said of him: "If you want to get something done at General Headquarters you had better tell Padri Waris-ud-Din, and he'll wangle it." General Marshall twice in a speech made honorable mention of him, and at a Durbar in Baghdad the Field Marshal conferred upon him the M. B. E. medal, and spoke warmly of the service that he had rendered.

The Mussalmans of Baghdad, both secular and religious, were on excellent terms with Waris-ud-Din, though he was faithful as a Christian witness in dealing with them. No one, high or low, was excluded from his friendly and genial intercourse. He was the friend of all. It is a real testimony to the power of Christ in his life that this man, who had been a widower for many years, was never accused of unseemly conduct. His children have prospered. Mr. F. D. Waris is manager of the Punjab Religious Book Society in Lahore.

When Waris-ud-Din, on furlough from Mesopotamia, visited his native town of Narowal, he found to his surprise at the railway station a band awaiting him and a deputation of leading citizens, who garlanded him and made a speech of congratulation on the decoration which he had received. It was indeed a striking contrast to the treatment he had experienced as a boy when imprisoned by his parents and not allowed to confess his faith.

Waris-ud-Din's health had been broken by the climate, and by the severe work of wartime and the following years in Mesopotamia, and he returned home to die. His life is well described by the title chosen for him by his fellow convert:—"A Martyr to Service."

London. H. U. WEITBRECHT STANTON.

BIBLE DISTRIBUTION IN CAIRO[1]

For a number of years I have given up my whole time to the circulation of Scripture portions, almost exclusively those in Egyptian Colloquial Arabic, and I have been asked to tell a little about my experiences in this work. I can see no better way to begin than by answering a question which I have often been asked, viz: "How do you actually sell the books? How do you set about it, and how do you approach the people?"

I first of all procured a street map of the city of Cairo; and taking a few streets each day, worked systematically through the Moslem districts. After a good deal of prayer, I started off in the morning with my bag of books and the names of the two or three streets I wanted to visit that day. As I travelled in the tram it was really very interesting, for I did not know exactly what kind of a reception I would get.

Arriving at the first street I had marked down, I found it was a long bazaar or market, with little shops on each side. At the first shop the proprietor was sitting on a stool outside; he was a grocer, and apparently trade was quiet at the moment. I approached him with the usual Arabic greeting of the country, "May your day be happy, O sir." He replied, "May your day be happy and blessed." And then he looked at me quite courteously, but with just a hint of surprise on his face, which one might interpret as, "What on earth does this Englishman want in a street like this?" I quickly satisfied his curiosity by opening my bag and producing a book, which I told him was a very good story in his own language, and which I was prepared to sell him for the small sum of

1 Copy of a Paper read at the Conference on *"The Indigenous Churches and Evangelism."* Cairo, December 3-5, 1929.

half a piaster. He glanced at it, read the title, "Ingeel," and without looking inside or attempting to read the book, he burst forth with an expression often heard by the colporteur in Cairo, "I am a Moslem, this book is not useful to me." Then he did a typically Egyptian thing, although he realized I was of a different religion to himself, and though he would not buy a Gospel, his Eastern hospitality overcame everything else, and he invited me to sit down and rest and partake of coffee, which he would have ordered at the top of his voice from a café near by. I thanked him very politely and begged to be excused, as I had an appointment, and withdrew, salaaming and touching first my head and then my heart.

After a little experience at this work and meeting a large number of these people, one gets a sort of instinct as to whether one should wait and discuss a book with a man or whether he is too bigoted to eventually achieve a sale by so doing. I feel we cannot spare the time to argue with the latter kind of men. If you want to cover a city like Cairo, you must keep moving and give as many Mohammedans as possible no excuse for saying, "We were never offered the Gospel nor had a chance to read it."

I passed on to the next shop; this man could not read, but he held the book upside down and looked at it in a very affectionate manner, and said he only wished he could read.

The next man was the same, but he called in a loud voice to a man at the other side of the street, who came across and joined us. I did not show this man the name on the cover, but handed him the book open at the story of "the Prodigal Son." I then explained to him after he had read a bit, that this was a book of fine stories about "Our Lord Jesus." He read this story, and then I read to him the story of the lost sheep and the joy in heaven over a repentant sinner. He was so well pleased, he bought the Gospel.

A barber's shop is the next place, and I nearly always

get a good reception in one of these places, and then again there are always a number of people sitting waiting to be attended to. If the barber does not read himself, in a dozen cases I could quote, he buys one and leaves it for his customers to read while they wait.

The next place perhaps is a café, and I have found the best way to work in these places is quickly, quietly, and attracting the minimum of attention. I often find the proprietor very bigoted, but it is wonderful what a change will be brought by a broad grin and a few polite expressions of greeting, followed perhaps by requesting his permission to show a few story-books to his customers. I then generally go round the tables and greet each group of Egyptians politely, and offer my books. I meet always with a good many refusals, but also nearly always sell a few. Thus I go right along the street or streets I had planned to visit, as time will permit. When I return home I make a note of the streets I have covered, so that I will know just where to begin another day.

I try as much as possible not to walk back along a street I have been selling in, as I found nearly always a few dissatisfied purchasers demanding their money back.

Since I returned from furlough in November 1927, between thirteen and fourteen thousand colloquial scriptures have thus been circulated; over nine thousand being Gospels. All have been distributed one by one, and have been placed almost exclusively in Moslem hands.

I am sometimes asked, "What happens to these books, do you think people destroy them or throw them away, or do they read them?" Strangely enough, during the past few months I have met three Moslems who had previously bought books from me. Let me tell you about them. The three incidents constitute a very good answer to such questions.

The first man gave me a warm welcome. Said he, "Do you not remember me? I bought a copy of Genesis from you nearly twelve months ago. Have you any more books like it?" He purchased Luke's Gospel.

Again I approached some men outside a shop and offered a Gospel. Said they, "We are Moslems in this district. This book is not for us!" Just then the owner of the shop came out and said, "Do not say that! I bought an *Ingeel* from this man some time ago and it is good words. I heartily recommend it to you." A number of men bought. He also "called together his neighbours" and many of them purchased Gospels on his advice.

I entered a hair-dresser's shop in Cairo the other day and offered a Gospel to the proprietor. Said he, "That is infidelity!" I replied "Now that is a strange thing. Can God's Word rightly be called infidelity?" "Well a Sheikh who comes here to have his hair cut says so!" I suggested that no one could give a just opinion about a book until he had read it for himself. This man replied, "But that is just the point. I bought this book from you some time ago" ; and he produced a dear old colloquial Luke from underneath a cushion on one of his chairs. It was well finger-marked, and bore profuse evidence of having been much read. I was very much interested at once, and asking for more details, found that a favorite practice in that shop (which was really a kind of club) was for one man to read aloud a story from the Gospel while a group of people sat there and listened. The Sheikh aforementioned of course tried to stop this, and called the book *kufr* (infidel) ; but these men defied him and continued to read from the Gospel and discuss it amongst themselves. I think this is very wonderful and it was a great encouragement to me. Here was a Bible-class being held regularly by a group of men *all* Moslems, and in a strong Mohammedan district without any missionary!

Do *you* believe that God's Word without note or comment can lead a soul to Christ? I say most emphatically yes—if the Holy Spirit enlightens the understanding of the reader. If I did not believe that, I would stop this colportage work at once!

I think I am right in saying that the present staff of

foreign missionaries cannot possibly hope to reach and fully proclaim the Gospel message to the present generation of Moslems in the Near East. But I fully believe if the indigenous Church got a vision of this need and really roused itself to the task of distribution of literature, we could reach this generation of Moslems.

If the doors were tight shut and we were forbidden to distribute literature, or if the people refused to accept Scripture portions, we might have an excuse; but it is simply wonderful how open the doors are at present, and even the leaders of Moslem thought—Azhary Sheikhs—are today buying Arabic Gospels, and even stranger still, they are encouraging the people to do so. I can vouch for this from my own experience. The other morning in Cairo I had a very interesting incident which will illustrate my point. I am afraid I was rather a coward, for when I saw an Azhary Sheikh, evidently a teacher in the great University, sitting in a shop, I did not attempt to offer my books. I had just sold a Gospel in the shop next door and was moving off, when a boy said the Sheikh wanted to speak to me. I returned with mixed feelings, wondering what my reception was going to be. My fears were not allayed when he opened the conversation with "You are a missionary, are you not? What have you in your bag?" I produced a Genesis, fearing to show him a Gospel. To my amazement he seemed quite familiar with this book and said "Oh yes, this is the *Takween*, but you have some Gospels in your bag, have you not? Show me a Gospel." It transpired that this man was a teacher in the Azhar University, of one of the classes which is using the Bible at present. To my surprise he bought a Gospel. This is the first time I have heard of an Azhary Sheikh sending after a missionary in the street to buy a Gospel. I could also quote many other incidents, but time forbids.

The circulation of Christian literature amongst Moslems is admittedly a difficult task, and the devil would have us believe that it is impossible; but I have found

that if one spends some time in prayer before going out (and I emphasize this) and goes out in the strength of the Lord and faces up to the difficulties, they very often disappear. Let me give you two illustrations of victory in difficult places:

As I waited before God one morning I felt I ought to visit a certain street. I went along several cafés, but got a most discouraging reception. These bigoted Moslems would not even take a Gospel in their hands to look at, much less buy. At a table outside a café two men sat. After the usual greeting, I said, "I have here a book of interesting stories about our Lord Jesus Christ." "We are Moslems, we have the Koran, and these books are not necessary for us. That book—the *Ingeel*—is for Christians. There are two Copts sitting at that next table, go to them with your books, and clear out of here!" I replied, "My good sir, I did not come out here to meet Christians; they have the Truth. I came specially to meet Moslems. I love them, and this book and the good news it contains is for everybody, not for Christians only. It is favorably mentioned in the Koran, for it says there that the Torah and the Psalms and the Gospel come from God." The man became very angry, and said, "The Koran also says"—and he simply poured out a torrent of high Arabic for quite two or three minutes. This was very fierce opposition indeed, and I could feel the power of the devil very really. Then I had a thought—I just lifted up my heart to God in prayer, and very briefly and definitely asked, in the name of Jesus, for victory for this soul. From sheer lack of breath the man at last stopped, and I said, "Please do me the favor of continuing." He smiled, and said, "I will buy a Gospel from you." To God be all the glory; this was a real answer to prayer, and that man interested me more than all the other Moslems who bought Gospels from me afterwards that morning.

Then again I had an experience with a crowd which refused to become a mob, although a fanatical Moslem

tried to stir them up. As there are eight mosques in the short street in which it happened, you can understand the kind of district it was. The Gospel of Luke in the colloquial had been selling freely right up this street and the trail behind me of Moslems sitting reading the Gospel for themselves evidently roused this man. I had just read part of the story of the prodigal son when he burst into the little group of men who had gathered round to listen. He said, "That is an infidel book." I said, "It is not indeed, it is God's Word." He said, "You are a Christian missionary trying to lead these good people astray." I said, "I am doing no such thing; even the Koran admits that the *Ingeel* comes from God." "You said Jesus is the Son of God." I replied, "We are not talking about that at all. I was reading a good story when you were rude enough to interrupt." "Well, that book says so." I replied, "Good! You show me where it says it!" and I handed a Gospel to him. Of course he could not find the place, and the crowd told him to shut up, they wanted to hear the remainder of the story. Then this fellow stood up on the door-step of a shop and began to harangue the crowd. The shop-keeper cut short his eloquence by cursing him roundly and pushing him down into the street again. The crowd roared with laughter at his discomfiture—I continued my story, and many more copies of colloquial Luke were sold to that very crowd. Often the easiest way round a difficulty is to go right through it.

Cairo. HERBERT H. MERCER.

CURRENT TOPICS

The Agha Khan

There is no more remarkable figure among Moslems in India than the Agha Khan, and no name has been more exploited in recent years. The following characterization appears in one of our Indian exchanges.

"I have been asked several times in the last few days just who His Highness the Agha Khan is. As this question has been raised by otherwise well-informed people, and there seems to be considerable confusion about him; as he and his little French sugar-lady are attracting the interest of the novelty-seekers, perhaps a brief review of the facts regarding him will not insult the intelligence of members of the League.

"Then again there are some of us who believe everything we read. A few days ago, I read in the *American,* one of the popular periodicals of the United States, something most absurd about the 'Agha Khan, who, as you know, is *the head of all the Mohammedans of India—'* (the italics are mine)! Some of our popular writers seem loath to let a mere fact spoil a good story. But as the article was called 'Fringe of the Fantastic,' perhaps the author can justify himself.

"The Khojas are a branch of the Ismaili sect of the Shiahs. There is no time, and little need, to go here into the doctrinal implications of the Shiah conception of the Imams, and the Hidden Imam. The Khojas have contact with the Imam in the person of the Agha Khan, who is the descendant of Hasan Ibn Sabbah, the founder of neo-Ismailism, described as 'half schism, half reformed Fatimism.' The Agha Khan is the forty-seventh Imam, the first being Ali, the husband of Muhammad's daughter, Fatima.

"There were in 1921 some 76,000 Khojas in India. Of these about 33,000 recognize the Agha Khan as Imam, consider his person as sacred (to the point of calling him also an *avatar* of Hinduism), and pay enormous sums of money to him. His adherents are largely centered in Western India, in Sind and the Bombay Presidency. Others of his group are to be found in Zanzibar and the East Coast of Africa.

"It will be remembered that His Highness has taken a great interest in the political situation in India. His book, 'India in Transition,' is a masterpiece of diplomacy. He is a nationalist of a sort, keeping, at the same time, on very good terms indeed with Government. Strange to say, considering the peculiar tenets of his sect, he seems to have a great deal to say about Muslim solidarity.

"His Highness the Agha Khan, then, holds his title by courtesy from the Empire, his religious position by heredity, and his fabulous wealth from inheritance and the tithes of his people, augmented by whatever favors *Qismet* holds out to his racing thoroughbreds. He is virtually an incarnation of God, without, apparently, the obligations thereunto attached; a Prince without the inconvenience of a Kingdom; a

millionaire with vast estates and a brand new wife. What more could a man want?"

The Moros and Independence

Recent unrest among some of the Moro tribes lends interest to the paragraphs on the Moros in a recent report on Philippine Independence by Raymond Leslie Buell, of the Foreign Policy Association (New York City):

In 1915 the Philippine Commission drafted a new code of laws for the Moros, the preamble of which declared that its purpose was to accomplish the complete unification of the Moros with the inhabitants of other provinces; and that although certain special provisions and limitations were for the time being necessary, its firm purpose was "to abolish such limitations together with the departmental government, as soon as the several districts of said region shall have been converted into regularly organized provinces."

Unlike British policy in West Africa and Dutch policy in the East Indies, American policy in the Philippines has not tolerated tribal institutions and customs. Not only has the Sultan of Sulu been deprived of his traditional powers, but the Legislature has also enacted laws looking to the prohibition of polygamy and slavery, while an attempt has been made to establish compulsory education for Moslem girls. As has been indicated, the present policy is to prepare non-Christian people for the same system of government and administration as inhabitants of other parts of the country enjoy. This policy of assimilation has been criticized by a number of observers. They declare that as a result of destroying native institutions a situation of chaos, which is responsible for frequent disorder, has arisen. They believe that the Moros should be administered through their own sultans and *datus,* and courts and councils, until they themselves express a desire for change.

Others declare that the Moro Sultans never had real authority, that Moro institutions are socially harmful, and that their perpetuation would mean a delay in the establishment of Philippine unity.

Señor Quezon declares that "the Moros do not want to be governed in their local affairs either by Filipinos or Americans, but by Moros, and they are right. If the Philippines were given independence, the Moros would have complete self-government in local affairs and would share in the general government on equal terms with the Filipinos."

In 1921 the Wood-Forbes commission expressed the opinion that "the Moros are a unit against independence and are united for continuance of American control and, in case of separation of the Philippines from the United States, desire their portion of the Islands to be retained as American territory under American control." It declared that the minor disturbances which had occurred in the Moro regions were due principally "to energetic and sometimes overzealous efforts to hasten the placing of Moro children, especially girls, in the public schools, and to the too sudden imposition upon the disarmed Mohammedans of what amounts to an absolute control by Christian Filipinos. It is also due in part to failure to give adequate representation in local governments to Moros."

In 1926 Congressman Bacon introduced a bill providing for the separation of Mindanao and Sulu from the Philippines and for their

administration by a commission under United States supervision. No action on this bill was taken by Congress.

Was Mohammed Sinless?

The following question and answer appeared in *The Light* (Sept. 8, 1929) of Lahore:

"SIR,—In your issue of the 16th August, 1929 your statement that the Holy Prophet 'was not free from a mistake or two' is highly misleading. To tell you the truth, it has given a death blow to our claim to his being a perfect type of man that can be the best ideal of humanity. You must explain your situation in the paper because if the Holy Prophet was liable to mistake in his sayings and doings as a prophet and there was defect in his character however critical it may be, he cannot be regarded as a true messenger of God and a perfect model of humanity and no sane person can trust him as his guide and teacher in matters spiritual or moral, social or divine.

Jhelum. BASHARAT AHMAD.

In the very article which has led you to raise the question we held that the Holy Prophet was 'the type of man which can be the best ideal of humanity.' It was also said, 'Instead of considering his twofold career—that of a man and a prophet—separately, take him wholly as a man and judge him as such.' And: 'At the same time he was not totally free from a mistake or two which conclusively proved his being a man and not a divinity to be worshipped as such.'

We are sorry that a misunderstanding should arise out of these plain statements. And to us it is unthinkable that any of them could go so far as to deal a death-blow to your (and no less our) claim to the Prophet being a perfect type of man.

It is said to err is human. We have never known one man who was absolutely free from error or mistake. And the Prophet, with all the divine qualities that adorned his character, was a man after all. In English, mistake is not necessarily such a serious word as to cast a slur on the character of a man who commits one. Ignorance or absence of knowledge is its progenitor and it can be as innocent as truth or virtue. It never stands in the same row with vice or sin. You will also agree with us that the Prophet was not all-knowing (no man is) and was not therefore totally free from mistake. In the case of man if there can be anything like perfection, it does not connote total freedom from mistake. Rather, the lesser the number and smaller the dimension of his mistakes, the higher the position of a man. Mistake may be regrettable but there is nothing in it which deserves condemnation. It is for God alone, and for no man, to be free from mistake. If the Prophet was perfect, he was perfect as a man, not as a God.

Now, as to facts. The Holy Quran records at least one mistake of the Prophet when it says: 'He frowned and turned his back, because there came to him the blind man' (lxxx. 1-2). The *blind man* is said to have been Ibn-i-Umm-i-Maktum, who interrupted the Prophet while he was once holding an important conversation with some eminent Arabs. The Prophet disliked the interruption and did not answer the question put to him by the blind man. This behaviour of him, though not at all unjustifiable, was considered as a mistake on his part, not befitting the dignity of a man like him, and was disapproved as such by God in the above verses.

There is a *hadith* which narrates the story that the Prophet once opined that there was no necessity of fertilizing the date-trees, which was a common practice with the Arabs. When, however, the result of acting according to his opinion proved that he was wrong, he frankly remarked that in worldly matters he did not know as much as some other people did.

These facts show that the Prophet was a man in every respect, the difference between himself and others lying in the circumstance that whereas he was a Prophet inspired by God, others were not. Our belief is that as a prophet, that is while dealing with affairs concerning his prophetical office, he never committed any mistake, because he was given all the necessary knowledge about it. But as a man he was sometimes liable to err. It should be noted that in our article in question we did not judge him separately as a prophet and as a man but took both the characters together.

It is no argument that if Prophet Muhammad committed a mistake, though in his capacity as a man, however slight and insignificant the mistake, he cannot be a guide of men. This kind of balderdash is flung around among Muslims by Christian missionaries. And most of the Muslims recognize force in it, consciously or unconsciously—and if consciously, due to the weakness of ignorance. But we don't wish to be guided by such weakness. To us the mistakes of the Prophet only show him without the haze of a mysterious being like the Jesus of the Christians, and thus make his character all the more clear and reasonable.—*Ed.*"

San'a, Capital of Yemen

A full description of San'a, with special reference to its physical setting in the region in which it is placed and the effect of this on the life of the inhabitants, is given, from personal knowledge, by C. Rathjens and H. von Wissmann, in the last number for 1929 of the *Zeitschrift* of the Berlin Geographical Society. The paper includes a sketch of San'a's history and is accompanied by a map of the region and a detailed plan of the city, based on a survey by compass and pacing, helped also by air photographs. The authors lay stress on the physical divisions of Central Yemen into a series of parallel belts in accordance with the tectonics and climatic conditions of this western border of the Arabian desert plateau. Six such belts are distinguished: (1) the coast-plain of the Tihama; (2) the marginal elevated block; (3) the outer zone of depression; (4) the inner elevated block; (5) the inner zone of depression; (6) the eastern highland. Each of these has its own climate. To the heat and aridity of the Tihama succeeds the most favored belt of all (No. 2), which receives both orographic and zenithal rains, and is the most thickly peopled and best cultivated—the especial home of the coffee tree. Being more or less in rain-shadow the next zone receives only zenithal rain, and agriculture is limited to terrace-cultivation in the valleys. The next (No. 4) gets some orographic as well as zenithal rain, and terrace-cultivation is possible on its western side. The inner depressed zone again depends solely on zenithal rain, having lesser rains in spring and greater rains in summer. Permanent running water occurs only on the slopes bounding it on the west, but the rain which falls on the floor of the depression is conserved by the loess-like deposits which cover it. The climate is fine and healthy, and this zone is in part better

settled than No. 2. The eastern highland, which reaches heights of 3400 metres, is furrowed by valleys on its eastern margin, and oases with date groves occur where these debouch on the unknown desert beyond. In early times, when an important trade route ran north through this eastern zone, it was the seat of the most ancient civilization, but the centre of gravity was afterwards shifted west, and it was in the inner zone of depression that San'a rose to importance. A glowing account is given of the intensive cultivation of the plain of San'a by irrigation from wells, which permits three harvests in the year. The city has the form of a figure 8, being rather two cities than one. They lie east and west, their extremities five kilometers apart, and it is to the eastern, the old city, that the name San'a properly belongs. The topography and buildings of the city are described and illustrated by photographs, the life of the people being also dealt with in some detail.

—*The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society.*

Is Islam Unchangeable?

A liberal Moslem of Algiers who recently received the distinction of Chevalier de la Légion d'honneur expressed views on Islam in *Mercure de France* which were so startling that the *Echo d'Alger* reprinted them (May 16, 1930).

M. Abdelkader Hadji Hamou écrit:

L'Islam, qu'on disait immuable et insensible au progrès, l'Islam, qu'on croyait immobile comme le sphinx, remue, s'éveille, se réveille, retrouve sa source, y retourne de nouveau après s'être dispersé dans des milliers de petits ruisseaux vaseux, fangeux, où des millions de crapauds haïssent le chrétien, l'infidèle, le frère cependant.

Quel bâton magique a produit ce miracle, ce renouveau? La presse. Les journaux, les revues rééduquent les masses musulmanes, naquère aveugles.

Les musulmans, en général, ignorent la loi de dieu. On ne leur a jamais traduit dans la langue arabe parlée ce verset du Coran: "Point de contrainte en religion." Discussion et persuasion seulement. On ne fait un musulman ni à coups de matraque, ni par inquisition. Il y a dans notre livre un chapitre: Les infidèles. *Un enfant de sept ans vous le réciterait à la perfection; mais son grand-père illettré n'y comprend rien et désobéirait, le cas échéant, à ce texte qu'il vénère et que jamais il n'a voulu comprendre; il tuerait des chrétiens parce qu'ils sont chrétiens. C'est ansi que le fanatisme musulman est né; c'est ainsi que nos paysans et nos montagnards mésestiment chrétiens et Juifs, cependant que celui qu'ils vénèrent, Mahomet, était allé jusqu'à épouser une chrétienne jacobite, une Copte, Marie, et que le mariage avec toute femme croyant en Dieu est proclamé licite par la loi islamique. C'est ainsi qu'on a vu tuer des hommes au nom d'un pauvre fou qu'on prenait pour un saint. Il est à remarquer que dans presque toute l'Afrique les déments sont pris pour des êtres supérieurs, des santons que Dieu, dit-on, écoute et qui peuvent enrichir un homme ou le jeter dans la misère!*

Un bon musulman croit devoir passer sa vie, même sous le plus ardent soleil, surmonté, comme un flacon de bordeaux ou de bourgogne, d'une capsule rouge. Cette capsule n'a nullement la force d'un article de foi, d'après M. Abdelkader Hadj Hamou:

Le port du chapeau par les Turcs fait couler beaucoup d'encre, on

ne trouvera pas un seul verset dans le Coran où il soit parlé de la coiffure que doit ou ne doit pas porter un musulman.

Cette si libérale étude, qui surprendra les diverses confessions, se termine ainsi:

Le Coran et la France sont au service de la science libre.

La France et l'Islam: l'immortelle alliance de l'esprit et du cœur!

Prions Allah dans nos mosquées de nous conserver ce soleil de l'univers intellectuel: Paris!

Ainsi soit-il.

The Henry Martyn School, Lahore

For the information of those who are interested in this project it is now possible to announce that the Christian School for the Study of Islamics in India is actually established, the necessary financial support having been assured from both British and American sources.

An institution of this kind is only possible through cooperative effort. Apart from those contributing members of the Staff and the loan of buildings, the following societies are assisting with funds: the Wesleyans, Methodist Episcopal Church, American Presbyterian Mission, C.E.Z.M.S. and the Oxford Mission.

They have been encouraged during the first term by the attendances at occasional lectures, and by a small group of regular students for the whole course of study. Three of these, ladies, representing different societies, have come all the way from South India.

Through the kindness of the C.M.S., the School has its first home within the Mahan Singh Bagh, the site until recently of their St. John's Divinity College.

The name by which the school will in time become known throughout India serves to remind us of the noble example in saintliness and scholarship of the first missionary to Moslems in modern times.

The Staff consists of the following: Rev. L. Bevan Jones, Principal, Rev. Laurence E. Browne, and Mr. John A. Subhan.

It is confidently hoped that this institution will be able to serve the Christian cause in India in a variety of ways. Some of these may be briefly indicated. Special study will be made by members of the Staff of different aspects of Indian Islam and the results published. Time will also be given to the preparation of Christian literature and this will be made available for workers among Moslems in the field. But most important of all the School will be a teaching centre to which, it is hoped, Missions and organized churches throughout the country will send candidates for special training. We bid the new enterprise God speed.

A Moslem Preacher Quotes the Bible

The following was translated from the Arabic newspaper *Al Najah*, published at Constantine, Algeria, and appeared in *World Dominion*. It is a sermon preached at the opening of a new mosque:

"We are met together to open one of the Houses of God which God has commanded should be raised, and in which His Name is remembered. A House in which a Moslem earnestly desires that worship which God has ordained for him; a House of purity and holiness, a House where the worshippers stand lined like a building well founded, behind their prayer

leader, facing their *kiblah* (Mecca) in goodly array, in accordance with that true correctness required by religion. Side by side they stand with no difference between the Emir and his servant, between the poor man and the rich man. From the tower of this House sounds forth daily that honored word—the word of the Unity of God. This was the word announced by the apostles and prophets from Adam to Moses, also by Jesus and by their Seal (Mohammed).

"As it is written in the Book of God which was sent down to them; in the Book of Isaiah, chapter forty-five, at verse five, 'I am the Lord, and there is none else, there is no God beside me: I girded thee, though thou hast not known me: that they may know from the rising of the sun, and from the west, that there is none beside me. I am the Lord, and there is none else.'

"Likewise in the Gospel by Mark, the twelfth chapter at verse twenty-nine, where Christ answered him who enquired of Him, Jesus replied and said: 'The first of all the commandments is, Hear O Israel; the Lord our God is one Lord: And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength; this is the first commandment.'

"Also in the Gospel by John, the seventeenth chapter at verse three: 'And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.'"

A Conference in Germany

At Wusterhausen near Berlin on January 21st, 1930, a conference was held of the German missionary societies working among Moslems. There were representatives of the deutsche Orient-Missionsgesellschaft of the deceased Dr. Lepsius, the Frankfurter Mission, the Karmel Mission, the Mohammedaner Mission, Wiesbaden (in Egypt) and the Jerusalem Verein. Besides these, Professor Dr. Richter (Berlin) and Dr. Simon (Bethel) were present as authorities on this subject. At first Dr. Simon gave a detailed insight into the work of the Central Committee for Christian Literature for Moslems. It was decided to concern oneself with the distribution of literature in a higher degree than hitherto, and for this purpose gratefully to call in the service of the Central Committee. Missionar Schönberger of the Mohammedaner Mission gave a general view of the influence of secularism on the Moslem world in Egypt. Rev. Uhlich of the Jerusalem Verein reported about the impressions he got in the Holy Land, through which he traveled in 1929. Besides this, many special questions were discussed; a motion was brought in by the German-Protestant Missionary Committee, suggesting that by the German missionary societies THE MOSLEM WORLD should be introduced more than hitherto among the German missionaries who are working among Moslems. With great pleasure the Conference took notice of the fact that it had become possible to publish in a new edition the important book of Dr. Richter, "Missions and Evangelisation in the Orient." The Conference will try to further the circulation of this book in every way.

G. SIMON.

BOOK REVIEWS

Indian Islam. By Rev. Murray T. Titus, Ph.D., D.D., part-time Secretary, National Christian Council, India, Burma and Ceylon. Oxford University Press. xvi + 290 pp. 12s.6d.

It has been left for a Christian missionary to attempt the task of unfolding, within the limits of a single moderate-sized volume, the great story of Islam's conflict, conquest and compromise in a Hindu environment.

A number of standard works by Indian and European writers are already available on the political history and social life of the Moslems of India, but as the author of the present volume says in his Preface, "nowhere is there to be found any comprehensive treatment of Indian Islam from the standpoint of religious history." He has accordingly set himself to meet the need. The result is a contribution to our knowledge of the subject that may well call forth the commendation of Moslem scholars themselves.

The work has not been lightly undertaken nor hurriedly compiled. Dr. Titus, who has spent nineteen years in the United Provinces, began the task ten years ago, and has, in the interval, as his pages abundantly show, read widely and assiduously in his desire to do justice to so vast a theme. He is fully aware that, in the nature of the case, there must be others who could have written with a fuller knowledge on certain matters; but these will be the first to acknowledge that much of the merit of the book lies in this, that the author has drawn his material from Islamic sources and from his personal observations. Abundant references to such sources are given throughout. Not only so, the closing sixty pages comprise a valuable appendix full of facts about Indian Islam, a bibliography connected with each chapter, a glossary of Islamic terms and an index.

Some of the subjects dealt with are controversial, and here Dr. Titus has written with restraint and invariably with sympathy and understanding. One is grateful to the writer for deciding not to give his readers an outline of the foundations, beliefs and practices of Islam. It was not necessary. What he has given us is far more interesting and less well known. He takes us back to the time of the earliest entrance of Moslems into India, which was, apparently, a dash in and out again, as early as 664 A. D., that is, within thirty years of Mohammed's death. From that point onward he tells us the story of the periodic raids upon Northern India, followed by determined invasions, extended conquests and wonderful empire-building under dynastic rulers.

Discussing the methods of the early conquerors, he makes it abundantly clear that a "spirit of intolerance and wild fanatical zeal" towards the Hindus marked these men. But then they were under the spell of that magic word *jihād,* and thought nothing of sending tens of thousands of infidels, who rejected Islam, to hell with the sword.

Mahmud of Ghazna and Muhammad Ghuri were not alone in this; it was the policy of most of the conquerors throughout the first eight centuries of Moslem contact with India; that is to say, down to the beginning of the Mughal period. Dr. Titus rightly insists that the evidence for such slaughter, and its by-product of forced conversions, is so overwhelming that it is not possible to ignore it nor fair to belittle it.

On the other hand, he makes it equally clear that the Moslem attitude to the peoples of the land underwent a striking change from the time of the founding of the Mughal Empire in 1526, when there came to be adopted "the more practicable and reasonable policy of government for the good of all the people."

Even so, at an early date it had been seen that the wholesale conversion of the Hindus was a task quite beyond the power of the conquerors. As a matter of fact, Hindu India "put up a stubborn resistance to the Moslem propaganda even at the point of the sword, and all but successfully withstood the storm." Apart from which the Moslem armies were dependent on the services of the Hindus. Consequently the Moslem canon law regarding infidels had, at a very early date, to be relaxed, and the Hindus were "permitted" to occupy the status of *dhimmis* (p. 15).

Dr. Titus has expanded this interesting subject in Chapter VIII, on "Islam in its Hindu environment." He shows not only how the stern attitude of the Moslem conquerors towards Hindus underwent a change, but how subtly and extensively Hindu thought and practice have, in the course of the years, influenced and even impaired Islam. On the one hand Hindus began to be employed in government service, and Hindu women, bringing with them strange customs and practices, became the wives of Moslem sovereigns and their subjects. The story is told again of how Akbar scandalized his courtiers by the lengths to which he went in both sympathy and practice with the Hindus.

On the other hand great sections of the Moslem community had, for reasons given, been only partially converted, and still clung to the ways and thoughts of their idolatrous ancestors. The fruit of this can be seen today in various groups of people scattered all over the land, and is a matter of grave concern to those who desire to see a return to the pure faith. Nor has Islam, in spite of its lofty theory, been able to escape the influence of caste distinction in its Indian setting. On this point the author quotes to good effect the shrewd comment of Sir Muhammad Iqbal of Lahore who, deploring the sects and castes in Indian Islam, says: "This is one of the quiet ways in which the conquered nations revenge themselves on their conquerors."

The conclusion of the matter is that "Hinduism has wrought a far greater change in Islam than Islam has wrought in Hinduism, which still continues to pursue the even tenor of its way with a complacency and confidence that are amazing." It is even so, and the fact gives meaning to a statement of the writer which comes in somewhat abruptly in his very first chapter, viz: "So far as the conversion of India as a whole is concerned, Islam (has) signally failed. In no other country save China where her arms and missionaries have gone has she accomplished so little in proportion to the total population. India may have more Moslems than any other country, but India is not a Moslem country."

Dr. Titus, however, is determined to be just, and in a chapter entitled "Peaceful penetration" he seeks to correct the impression that has been left by most writers that the sword was almost the only method used by the Moslems in the spread of the faith. The quiet work done through the centuries, often in complete independence of Moslem rulers, by the Moslem missionary "has been hitherto almost entirely neglected," and this in spite of the fact that there seems to be ample reason for believing that a relatively high proportion of the present Moslem population of India is the fruit of the labors of such preachers. The fourteenth century appears to have been marked by a great display of missionary zeal, but "since the middle of the nineteenth century there has been a widespread revival of Islam all over India and the annual conversions are estimated anywhere from ten thousand to six hundred thousand." While we have to accept the figures with caution, there can be no doubt that class prejudices and social ostracism among the Hindus have induced large numbers of that community to embrace Islam.

The author next deals with the organization of the main body of Sunni Moslems in a new country, with their loyalty to the Caliph of all Islam in the early stages, and the gradual development of a spirit of independence. The story is told of the infiltration of the Shiahs into India, of their influence in the royal courts, and their sub-division into sects. Little has been written on the Moslem religious orders in India, though the writer tells us that "it is estimated that fully two-thirds of India's Moslem population are under the influence of some one or other of the *darwish* orders." He has done good service in bringing together for the first time, and in concise form, some detailed account of the more prominent orders of the country. Closely connected with this subject is the practice of saint-worship and pilgrimage to saints' tombs. These features were brought into India, practically ready-made, by those who introduced the religious orders from Afghanistan and the countries beyond. For this kind of thing, of course, Hindu India offered a very congenial soil, and has encouraged the most extraordinary growth.

From this point we are led on naturally to consider some of the reform movements among Indian Moslems, in a chapter which is quite one of the most interesting in the book. First, there were the reactionaries at the beginning of the nineteenth century, who, following the lead of Abdul Wahhab of Arabia, viewed India as *Dār-ul-Harb,* and intrigued and waged war against the government. At the other extreme there arose in the middle of the century that stalwart champion of progress, Sir Syed Ahmad of Aligarh fame, with whom and through whom there dawned a new day for Indian Islam. A large part of the chapter is devoted to his far-reaching work. Between these extremes were those zealous itinerant preachers who made it their business to purify Islam from the baser elements that had crept in from Hinduism.

The final chapter deals with the new attitude of mind of different sections of educated Indian Moslems to questions of religious faith and practice. Such have found themselves compelled to break with the traditional exponents of Islam, if only to defend the faith against its critics. Another reason is that they desire to render Islam attractive to non-Moslems in Western lands.

There is much here about the Ahmadiyas, their extravagant praise of

Mohammed and of Islam, and their polemic, at times unseemly, against Christianity and Christ. In so far as Christian writers have provoked them to such polemic we can only hang our heads in shame. But whatever the cause, it is now an exhibition of a lamentable spirit.

The book closes on a note of hope. "It cannot be that honest, truth-seeking Moslems will continue indefinitely to refuse to face *all* the facts, and pursue the policy of evasion of the real issues of history and life, even though such investigation leads to the questioning and study of the very sources of revelation itself"....."The problem, therefore, for the Moslem, as for the Christian investigator, is to apply the same honest and fearless critical methods to the study of Mohammed and his revelation as have been applied to Jesus and the Bible."

Henry Martyn School, Lahore, India. L. Bevan Jones.

Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization. By S. Khuda Bukhsh, Vol. II. Published by the University of Calcutta. 308 pp. 5 Rupees.

In this second series of papers, as was the case in the first, Khuda Bukhsh has not clearly distinguished his work as a translator from his own valuable contributions. Four of the chapters are translations from Becker, Wüstenfeld and Brünnow on the Origin and Character of Islamic civilization, Islam as Problem, The Arab Academies and their Professors, and the Kharijites. The remaining eight papers differ in scope and value. The pen portraits of Harun Al-Rashid and Ibn Khaldun are excellent and well documented, while that on the Educational System of Moslems in the Middle Ages is well worth reading, as is that on Education, its Scope and Aims. Our readers will be specially interested in the views of an educated Indian Moslem on the present day situation. Three chapters (not consecutive) deal with this theme. There is a very appreciative review of the Missionary volume edited by Dr. John R. Mott entitled "The Moslem World of Today," another on Islam and the Modern World and a third on the Awakening of Islam. Here we have the sincere and ardent hope expressed that Islamic civilization is not a thing of the past, but that a golden age is ahead. Islam is not moving away from its moorings. "The pull," says our author, "is just the other way. It is towards the Islam that is free from doctrinal fetters—the Islam that is flexible and adaptable to advancing civilization—the Islam that leads us to love and light —the Islam that preaches eternal verities and encourages boundless progress. The pull, then, is towards the Islam of the Prophet."

The author believes this possible and desirable because "There is nothing in Islam to hamper or hinder the advancement of man. The Qur'an gives naught but counsels of perfection, and the Qur'an is our Light and Guide. It does not so much as even prescribe the form of prayer,—much less does it set up a code of theology obstructive to progress, hostile to enlightenment. There is not one precept subversive of light or culture. Could such a basis be inadequate for the building up of any civilization?"

The death knell of Pan-Islamism has ushered in Nationalism but "This nationalism of to-day does not supersede—much less annihilate—that spiritual brotherhood of Islam which includes the entire Islamic fraternity in its large and enlarging embrace. It does not weaken

Islam. It strengthens it. Within its own geographical limits each nation may work out its own destiny, but it will never forget that beyond the national limit there is the 'Brotherhood of Islam'—transcending the barriers of Nationality, weaving Islamdom into one indivisible whole—a unity. The Turk and the Egyptian, the Arab and the Persian,—the Indian and the Afghan—notwithstanding racial differences—feel the force of religious unity—feel it at the *mosque,* at the *Hajj,* in foreign countries—everywhere, wherever they come into contact. In the differing nationalities there are no conflicting interests, no feelings of strangeness, no unbridgeable gulf—such as divides the English from the French or the Germans from them both."

There is a truth in this contention which has been too much obscured by western writers. Western civilization has shaken Moslems out of their slumber. "Everywhere, in India, in Egypt, in Persia, in Turkey, wheresoever we turn, Muslims are pulsating with new life, viewing problems from the modern standpoint, forging fresh rules of religious interpretation, reconciling the needs of the hour with their allegiance to the past, justifying modern institutions by appeals to the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet, striving to close the breach between the two great sects which divide the Islamic world." But the new Islamic civilization for which Khuda Bukhsh is the protagonist will have much of Christianity in it! "In the past, as we have shown, the fundamentals of Christian and Mohammedan culture were identical. Are they not moving to the same goal now?" *"True Islam is true Christianity, their mission being identical.* In the language of the Apostle James: 'Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world.' This is the burden of all religions, and this is the essence of Islam."

His conclusion in a later chapter is that "the wave of Westernism sweeping today in full force over the Orient has not weakened, impaired, or destroyed Islam. Islam stands erect four-square to the winds that blow." Is the wish father to the thought? And is India unaware of the progress of events in Turkey and Persia?

It is unfortunate that this important study bearing the imprint of the greatest University of India should have been so carelessly printed, and have neither an adequate table of contents nor index.

S. M. Zwemer.

A History of Christian Missions in China. By K. S. Latourette, Professor of Missions and Oriental History, Yale University. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1929. XII and 930 pages. $5.00.

This book not only makes interesting reading, but is one which will well repay careful study. It is authoritative. The 843 pages of text are supported by more than 4000 foot-notes and references, and a bibliography of 54 pages. The Author's plan is as follows:—The first 208 pages deal with the work of the Nestorians, Franciscans, and Jesuits up to the nineteenth century. The bulk of the book deals with the period of Protestant Missions in China. This period, from 1807 to 1926, falls into several natural divisions, and in each the historical background of the period is first given, and then the work of the Catholics and the Protestants is described. After each important period a summary of the policies used by the missionaries and the results obtained is

given, thus giving the opportunity to compare the aims and methods of the succeeding periods, and also of the Catholics and Protestants. Some might feel that an undue amount of space has been given to the work of the Catholics. However, even if it had not been the author's purpose to include both in his History, it would be a mistake for Protestants to neglect the work of the Catholics. The Chinese had formed some estimate of Christianity, its meaning, aims and accomplishments, long before the Protestants came to China. During the whole period of Protestant Missions in China the Catholics have carried on an extensive work. The reaction of the Chinese to the Christian Church today is partly due to the centuries of Catholic work. For better or for worse, we have entered into their inheritance, and we do well to understand their aims, policies and accomplishments. The unusually good index will point out where references are made to the work among the Moslems in China,—a work which has been greatly neglected.

J. E. Bear.

The Effect of Western Influence on Native Civilizations in the Malay Archipelago. By Dr. B. Schrieke. G. Kolff & Co., Batavia, Java, 1929. pp. 247.

This important work, issued under the auspices of the Royal Batavia Society of Arts and Sciences, consists of eleven papers. The title reflects the nature of the contents of this work. It is limited, it is true, to the Malay Archipelago, but this island empire offers a wide diversity of people which, in turn, provide an extensive range of cultural types and cultural phases, as a result of which the action of Western influence has manifested itself in various ways.

The list of papers describe the contents of the volume. The first is by the celebrated missionary, Dr. A. C. Kruyt; the others by equally distinguished authors: (1) The influence of Western civilization on the inhabitants of Poso (Central Celebes); (2) Ten years of hygiene and ethnography in primitive Borneo (1891-1901), by Dr. A. W. Nieuwenhuis; (3) The administration of the outer provinces of the Netherlands Indies, by W. Middendorp; (4) The economic structure of Java, by J. W. Meyer Ranneft; (5) Western enterprises and the density of the population in the Netherlands Indies, by J. van Gelderen; (6) European influence on native agriculture, by Dr. G. H. van der Kolff; (7) The influence of Western civilization on the languages of the East Indian archipelago, by Dr. G. W. J. Drewes; (8) Western influence on the law for the native population, by Dr. B. ter Haar Bzn; (9) Influence of the Western administration on the native community in the outer provinces, by Dr. B. J. Haga; (10) Interracial private law, by Dr. R. D. Kollewijn; (11) Native society in the transformation period, by Dr. B. Schrieke.

The translation is good, although there are some Dutchisms in style which were unavoidable. One of the most interesting problems discussed is that of the enormous density of population in Java, some parts of which have more than one thousand inhabitants to the square mile. The outlying islands are sparsely settled. Dr. Drewes' paper on "The influence of Western civilization on the languages of the East Indian archipelago" refers to the revival of Arabic as follows:

"Recently, a very important factor has been the revival of the Islamitic religious zeal which expresses itself in active laymen's associa-

tions such as Moehammadiyah. This association has branches throughout Netherlands India. It works on a large scale and in a manner hitherto unprecedented in the native world, while the distribution of literature is carried out in a very efficient manner. The number of newspapers, tracts, exegetical and apologetical booklets it publishes is legion. All this literature bristles with Arab words, and Arabic character has been restored to a certain extent. Further, it exercises through its courses, where the Koran is read with the help of modern comments from the Egyptian scholar Mohammad Abduh, an influence on the middle classes of the population, which is not to be underestimated. The Arab element in the language therefore is steadily increasing in the circles which are influenced by this association, and this will in the long run most certainly lead to the enlargement of the already large contingent of Arab words in the general language, and to start with the newspaper language which is in course of formation."

The volume points out in conclusion that "The contact with the West causes, therefore, an economic, intellectual, spiritual and social revolution in native society. For those who participate in the transformation process from close at hand, there is the danger, on the one side, of being swept along in the turmoil of undigested ideas and prevailing public emotions, and on the other side, of regarding the features of the transition period as a permanent phenomenon and of becoming a helpless *laudator temporis acti.*"

We regret that so important a contribution has neither map nor index.

Z.

Ibn-Taghri-Birdi. al-Nujūm al-Zāhirah fi Mulūk Misr w-al-Qāhirah vol. VII, Ed. William Popper. University of California Press, 1928. pp. 379-642.

The period covered by these annals extends from A. H. 857-864 (A. D. 1453-1458), one of the least known periods in the Mamlūk history of Egypt. Many of the events recorded took place during the lifetime of the author, who died A. D. 1469. This makes the work an especially important source book to scholars interested in the history of Islam in general and Egypt in particular. A number of the personages mentioned by Ibn-Taghri-Birdi, such as al-Balātunsi and Sirāj-al-Din (pp. 516-517), were also treated by al-Suyūti (d. 1505) in his Naẓm al-'Iqyān (ed. Hitti). The low ebb to which the culture of the age had then reached may be well illustrated by the following, translated and quoted from the life of the Burji Mamlūk, al-Ashraf Ināl, whose reign covered the whole period discussed in the volume; "Al-Ashraf himself was an illiterate man, who could neither read nor write. He could not even affix the proper signature on the official documents and ordinances, unless the court clerk had first drawn the proper signature in very light hand. The sultan would then trace the writing over with a pen. . . . I doubt whether he could properly read the *fātihah* or any other part of the Qur'ān"—p. 559.

This volume is followed by another of indices and glossary, pp. 873-907 + LVI, which are excellently done. The glossary reveals Professor Popper a real master of the technicalities and niceties of the Arabic language, although here and there one might come across a shade of meaning which could be improved upon. *istasmana waramahu,* ren-

dered "he thought his tumor was fat" (p. xxxvi), should read: he thought his swelling was fat; or better still: he mistook his swelling for fat.

Princeton University. PHILIP K. HITTI.

Survey of International Affairs 1928. By Arnold J. Toynbee, assisted by V. M. Boulter. Oxford University Press, New York. pp. 506. Price $7.50.

The importance of this Survey of International Affairs was indicated in our review of the volume of the Survey for 1925. The salient points of this present volume are the negotiation of the "Kellogg Pact," the development of the constitution of the League of Nations, the policy of Italy in South-Eastern Europe, the history of the Islamic World, and the changes in the foreign relations of China. Under the history of the Islamic World, the first part (pages 188-216) deals with the Westernization movement as regards the situation of foreigners, minorities, the emancipation of women, dress, religion, literature and art. There is a valuable section on the adoption of the Latin alphabet in Turkey. The second part deals with the Middle East (pages 235-358) and covers the political events in Egypt, Arabia, Iraq, Syria, Persia and Afghanistan.

How difficult it is to sum up the situation is indicated in the following paragraph:

"In 1929, it was hardly possible, after all, to answer the question whether there was still an Islamic World in the spiritual sense. In the eyes of certain Western observers, Islam was then *in articulo mortis;* in the eyes of certain Wahhabi fanatics, who recognized no true believers among contemporary mankind outside the ranks of the Ikhwan, Islam in 1929 stood again where it had stood in 633, when the tribes of Arabia, fused together by the Faith, were straining at the leash as they awaited the signal to go forth conquering and to conquer far and wide beyond the bounds of the Peninsula. Whether the observer's analysis or the fanatic's intuition came the nearer to the mark, the future would reveal. It was possible, again, that both might be equally blind to the future; for there was yet a third alternative, and this was that Islam might adapt itself to the environment of a Westernized World by accepting that place in the scheme of things which was occupied, in most Western countries, by the Christian Churches. It might be true that an Islam conceived on traditional lines would have no alternatives in a Westernized World, except to conquer or die; but an Islam which consented to 'render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's', might look forward to the future with no less confidence than Roman Catholicism or Primitive Methodism. It remained to be seen whether the main body of Islamic Society might not take this turn."

This work is indispensable to all students of international affairs. The present volume has a full index and four excellent maps. Z.

Christianity and Islam under the Sultans. By the late F. W. Hasluck, M.A. Edited by Margaret M. Hasluck, M.A., Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1929. 2 vols. 8vo. lxiv, 1-360; x, 361-877. Price, $21.

The author of this fine work on the interactions between Christianity and Islam in Asia Minor and the European provinces of the

former Turkish Empire was the librarian of the British School of Archeology at Athens. For some years before his death, which occurred in the year 1920, he had been making researches in Turkish folk-lore and its relations with Christianity. It had been his intention to publish two books, one on the subject of "Transferences from Christianity to Islam and Vice Versa," and the other on "Studies in Turkish Popular History and Religion," but as the work on the two books was left in an unfinished state, his friends advised that the material should be combined and made into one book, and this has been most successfully accomplished by his widow.

Part I, which deals with the "Transferences," occupies pages 1-118 of the first volume, and describes the urban and rural Christian Sanctuaries which were transferred to Islam, or the transference of which was arrested by some untoward incident, which may have been attributed to Magic by the Moslems, or those which have been secularized. Natural Sanctuaries, such as mountains and springs are also mentioned. Part II deals with the Popular History and Religion of the Turks—the heterodox tribes, tree and stone cults, and a great deal about various local and historical saints. These subjects occupy the remainder of the first volume, and the first hundred pages of the second volume. A very large part of the second volume is devoted to the Bektashi Order of derwishes, pages 483-596. The Index occupies 107 pages, and is extremely full and complete; also there is an excellent outline map of Greece and Asia Minor, and the Bibliography of about 1,200 works which were consulted occupies 44 pages. The whole work is a mine of information on the entire subject.

W. G. S.

A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna, incorporating a Translation of the First Book. By O. Cameron Gruner, M.D. Luzac & Co., London. 42s. net.

"The Prince of Physicians," Abu 'Ali Husain ibn-'Abdullah ibn Sīna (980-1037) was born in the province of Bokhara, Persia. As a youth he was very precocious, the complete memorizing of the Koran being attributed to him at the age of ten. The Canon, or Al-Kānūn fi't-Tibb, is the most important of the many books he is credited with writing. Its five books are a codification or compendium of Graeco-Arabic medical lore of the classical period of Arabian medicine. In spite of its bulk, it does not represent all of Avicenna's knowledge, but was rather his conception of what a medical student could conveniently remember.

Dr. Gruner's translation of the first book of the Canon includes the first part of De Viribus Cordis. The translation of the portion on Anatomy in the Canon is omitted because of its manifest inaccuracy in the light of present knowledge. The balance of the first book deals with physiology, psychology, diagnostic clinical medicine, hygiene and pharmacology. In making it available for the English reading public, Dr. Gruner has enhanced its value by an explanatory treatise, with comparisons of Avicenna's school of thought with the philosophy of the Early Chinese and with that of St. Thomas Aquinas.

Although written almost a thousand years ago, the Canon was used in a few European Universities as late as the 17th century. It is still

used by some of the native Eastern practitioners, and this translation should be of considerable value to the worker in Arabic-speaking countries.

RAYMUND L. ZWEMER.

La Syrie criminelle, essai sur la criminalité en Syrie, au Liban, dans l'état des Alaouites et en Palestine Anglaise. By Fouad Ammoun, Paris, 1929. pp. LI + 495.

The author, a Lebanese who procured his doctorate in laws from the University of Lyon and is now practicing law in Beirut, has made a real contribution in a field that has long been neglected by scholars. In book one he goes back as far as the Babylonian, even the proto-historic period, to determine the way justice was carried out then—all of which does not seem quite necessary for the immediate purpose. In book two he treats the different forms of criminality including brigandage and political crime. Book three takes up the question of the repression of crime. The volume opens with a lengthy introduction by the author's professor at the university, and is provided with a brief index.

PHILIP K. HITTI.

The Philosophy of Religion. By Edward E. Richardson. Judson Press, Philadelphia. pp. 148. Price $1.50.

The author is professor of Philosophy in the George Washington University, and writes from a conservative Baptist standpoint. His presentation of the finality of Christianity, the philosophy of the Trinity, and the principles that distinguish the non-Christian religions, is worth reading. The book is not documented, but gives evidence of wide reading, and the author's conclusion is refreshing.

"The religion that was born in Bethlehem, cradled in Nazareth, unfolded on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, seemingly defeated on the cross of Calvary, but rising triumphant from the garden tomb, and has come down across the centuries in ever-widening circles, is the only religion with a world appeal, and possesses in itself absolute finality. Christianity is the religion of the ages, and 'Hades (oblivion) shall not prevail against it.' "

Indien im Schmelztiegel. By C. Z. Klötzel. F. A. Brockhaus, Leipzig. pp. 285. M. 7.

A lively presentation of conditions in India today by an experienced German newspaper correspondent, who traveled widely in the summer of 1929. He had interviews with Shaukat Ali, Gandhi and Tagore. Although somewhat sensational in its character, the conclusions reached are sober. India is in the melting pot, but Great Britain is superintending the process. There are numerous remarkably fine illustrations.

Jesus of Nazareth, His Time, His Life and His Teaching. By Joseph Klausner. Translated from the original Hebrew by Herbert Dauby, D.D. The Macmillan Co., New York. 432 pp. $2.50.

It will be remembered that this remarkable study of the sources and of the Gospel narrative of our Lord's life from the standpoint of an orthodox Jewish historian and a leading Zionist appeared some four years ago. This is the second edition without abridgement. It is unnecessary to give a detailed description, as the work has been widely dis-

cussed. It is important for all those who are in contact with Islam and for all Moslem readers because, (a) it confirms the reliability of the synoptic gospels as historic documents of the first order and as genuine sources for the life of Jesus Christ over against all apocryphal and later documents; (b) the account given of the arrest, trial and crucifixion and burial of Jesus does not agree with that of the Koran, much less with the vagaries of the Ahmadiya sect, but in the main follows the Christian gospels. Although Dr. Klausner denies the Resurrection, he pays high tribute to the ethical teaching of Jesus and to His character.

Z.

Ein hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palaestina. By Professor Dr. Gustav Dalman (Schriften des Deutschen Palaestina-Institutes. Vol. 2.) C. Bertelsmann, Gütersloh, 1925. 25 Mk.

These aviator pictures give quite a novel opportunity for a minute study of the Holy Land, though the reader of the book requires some practice to penetrate into the unusual aerial views of the country. The task is simplified by very careful explanations on the left of every picture, which help the reader. The exactness of the photographs is astonishing.

SIMON.

L'Islam et les Musulmans dans l'Afrique du nord. Eugène Jung. Jeune Parque, Paris. pp. 91. Price 10 francs.

We have reviewed other works by this prolific writer, in our Quarterly. Here he returns to the same theme as in "L'Islam sous le Joug" (1926) and his later book on Islam and Imperialism. The unrest of Moslems in French North Africa calls for radical reforms in administration. The spirit of nationalism cannot be crushed; it must be guided.

"Malgré tout et tous, en dépit des efforts du Sacré-Collège l'Islam est debout, plus fort, plus vivant, plus décidé a être écouté et respecté, que jamais. Rien ne peut arrêter son essor, sa marche en avant. C'est ce à quoi on doit réfléchir, la France plus que les autres nations."

Z.

Asvagosa: Buddha-caritam, das Leben des Buddha. In Tibetan and German. By Friedrich Weller. Pfeiffer, Leipzig. pp. 189. M. 16.50.

Asvagosa, the imaginative Indian singer, wrote the Buddha-caritam in a beautiful Sanscrit, in the second century after Christ. It is a representation of Buddha's life. In the fifth century a Chinese translation of this Buddha-song was composed,—in the seventh century, a Tibetan one. The first part begins with describing in eight songs the birth, youth and flight of the young prince. In the ninth song we get a description of his search and the manifold attempts to turn his thoughts from the resolution to leave the world. After that his revelation follows and the defeat of the Marah and finally, in the last two songs, a statement of the doctrine, "The rolling of the wheel."

The knowledge of the Tibetan Buddhists, who are living scattered among the population of Kashgar, is important for those missionaries who have to work among the Mohammedans of Central Asia, on the borders of Tibet.

These legends are living in the people, and only the knowledge of them makes the veneration of the Buddha in East Asia comprehensible to us.

SIMON.

Al-Ma'mūn e gli Midi, di Francesco Gabrieli. Edward Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1929. pp. 63. 5 M.

For the political history of the dynasty of the Abbasides, and for the religious development of the Shiahs, the years 813-819 are the most important ones of the twenty years' caliphate of Al-Ma'mūn, son of Harun al Rashid. This is the time of the greatest scientific movement, during which camel-loads of Syrian, Greek and Hebrew books were brought to Baghdad. As for martial enterprises, only the campaigns against the Byzantines have to be mentioned. In this Italian paper-book the battles of this time between the descendants of Ali and the Abbasides are described. The letters which were exchanged between the Alids and the adherents of the Abbasides are taken as partial basis. We get a detailed representation of the legal contest with the Alids, who considered themselves as the true claimants of the crown because of their lineal descent from the Prophet, and of the cruel battles following, where in large numbers the Alids lost their lives.

SIMON.

Destiny in Old Arabian Poetry. By Werner Caskel. Volume I, number 5. Morgenländische Texte und Forschunzen, herausgegeben von A. Fischer. Edward Pfeiffer, Leipzig, 1926. pp. 62. 50 M.

This investigation is of great use in the comprehension of Mohammedan fatalism, because it enables us to understand what was meant by destiny at the time of Mohammed. The author closely investigates the Arabian words, which have to be taken into consideration. He mentions first the terms for fate (*al-himām*) and for the dispensation of Providence (*al-qadar*). Originally they mean events of human life, the origin of which could not be explained. At last they mean the lot of death, and finally he mentions the term for the lot of death (*al-manīya*). We remember expressions of the Old Testament about "the net of the lot of death." So death is personified as a hunter. The net or the rope are the arms of defence against demoniac forces. Still now the net is used as a means of defence against dead spirits in Sumatra. The author ascertains that fatalism has displaced the belief in God. It is surprising that belief in the gods is not discussed at all. Allah is mentioned, it is true. He is granting curse and blessing, but he does not really reign. Seeing this, we are surprised at the new apprehension in Mohammed's teaching, an important intuition: God is the master of human destiny. But it is true: at the same time, destiny is identified with God.

SIMON.

The Quatrains of 'Omar-i Khayyam. By Friedrich Rosen, Luzac & Co., London. pp. 200 plus 195, 7 s. 6 d.

The Persian text of this handy edition is taken from an old manuscript in a private collection. The translation is accompanied by notes. The Persian text is clearly printed. Altogether this is an ideal edition.

La Médecine dans les Missions. Librairie Bloud et Gay, 5, Rue Garancière, Paris. pp. 256. 14fr.

We welcome this interesting manual on medical missions from the standpoint of the Roman Catholic Church. The papers read at the conference there by experts in their respective fields include such subjects as: Medical instruction for outgoing missionaries, leprosy, purulent

ophthalmia, mission dispensaries in Egypt, the depopulation of French Equatorial Africa, sleeping sickness, etc. The introductory paper deals with the aim of medical missions. "Les disciples suivent l'exemple du Maître. Eux aussi guérissent les infirmes en même temps qu'ils prêchent la Bonne Nouvelle. L'exercise de la médecine fait partie de leur apostolat."

Z.

Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Pälistinas, von Benjamin Maisler. A. Töpelmann, Giessen. pp. 82. M. 6.

A monograph on the Amorites and Canaanites with an excursion on the Hittites, published by the director of the Oriental Seminar at the University. Important for its historical and geographical data.

Une Enigme troublante: La Race Nègre et la Malédiction de Cham par Raoul Allier. Soc. des Missions Evangéliques, Paris. 2 francs.

An exposition of the false exegesis of Gen. 9:20 current among those who defend slavery and despise the negro race, and a historical survey of the origin of the preposterous idea that the black races rest under a curse. The dean of the Protestant Theological Faculty in Paris concludes:

"Ce sont les missions chrétiennes et leurs amis qui devraient prendre l' initiative de protester sans plus de retard contre une thèse née dans le ghetto, des imaginations fiévreuses et sadiques de quelques rabbins, adoptée plusieurs siècles plus tard par les esclavagistes et introduite par eux dans les Eglises d'Europe qui ont combattu l'esclavage." Z.

Die Mission auf der Kanzel—Johannes Hesse. Dritte auflage, Calwer Vereinsbuchhandlung, Stuttgart. 446 Seiten. $2.60.

This is the third edition of an extraordinarily suggestive and compact manual for preachers on the Bible and Missions. The author died in 1916, and the work has been thoroughly revised by his colleagues. The contents now include homiletic material on aim and method, a list of suggestive texts, outlines of 140 missionary discourses, a missionary liturgy, a calendar of missionary days and a classified selection of missionary stories for use in mission meetings.

Mohammedansk Tankegang i Vore Dage. By Alfred Nielsen, G. E. C. Gads Forlag, Copenhagen. pp. 182.

A careful study of the Moslem press of Damascus since the war, especially of the contents of the daily newspapers. Mr. Nielsen's article in our Quarterly for April gave in summary the material here given in full. The whole is invaluable as an indication of present day thought in Syria, but the book would be far more useful to the Danish, as well as the American reader, if it had an index.

Z.

The Dethronement of the Khedive. By Arden Hulme Beamen. George Allen and Unwin, London. pp. 190, 6 s. net.

In this brief historical study we are told that no political fact in the history of the World War has been more completely suppressed or misrepresented than the dethronement of the last of the Khedives, Abbas II. The author lived in Egypt and had access to the literature and some of the documentary evidence; he died at the age of seventy-two and left the

book in manuscript. Cromer and Kitchener come in for sharp criticism, but it is perhaps too early to write dispassionately on Egyptian nationalism. Not the least interesting are the appendices, one of which deals with incidents in the chequered career of Ex-King Hussein Sherif of Mecca. The book has no index.

Z.

Tongues of Fire. A Bible composed of Sacred Scriptures of the Pagan World, compiled by Grace H. Turnbull. The Macmillan Co., New York. pp. 416. $3.50.

Except for its unfortunate title (which is offensive to those who remember Pentecost and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles) this book is attractively and well compiled. Within a reasonable compass we have here the best of the wheat separated from the chaff in the Sacred Books of Egypt, India, China, Arabia, Persia, Greece and Rome. After a summary of the early conceptions of the genesis of the world, (in which Genesis is left out) the selections follow a chronological order, ending with words from Marcus Aurelius and from Mohammed. The last occupy ten pages. There is a valuable bibliography, but there are no notes or comments on the text.

Z.

Cheikh Abdou l'Egyptien. By François Bonjean. Rieder, Paris. 248 pages. 12 fr.

This is a third volume of the history of a child in the land of Egypt, unveiling the feelings of an Oriental in the midst of a clashing of two civilizations. The author is well known in France, and the book might be classified as a historic novel. Four special editions de luxe appear simultaneously and indicate the importance of the volume to the French people.

Islam in Spain. By the Rev. Canon E. Sell, D. D. Church Missionary Society, London. pp. 170-180, 2 Rupees.

In the history of Islam there is no period more interesting than the conquest of Spain. Here we have a summary of all the best books on the subject by one who is an expert in condensation and presentation of Islamic themes. Beginning with the invasion in the first century of Islam, the story is told in five brief chapters. The last two chapters tell how Christian kings gained power, expelled the Moors and how Arabian philosophy influenced the thought of Europe. The book is well printed, but the index is meager.

Mustapha Kemal ou l'Orient en Marche. By Paul Gentizon. Ed. Bossard, Paris. pp. 350, price 30 fr.

The author, having resided in Turkey from 1922-1928, relates, step by step, the amazing changes which have transpired in that country, which had been considered "hopelessly fossilized." To the leadership of Mustapha Kemal, alone, he attributes the transformation of Turkey from an Asiatic to a European state. Mustapha Kemal has changed the spirit of the Moslem religion in Turkey. He has forbidden polygamy, abolished the separation of the sexes, suppressed theocratic legislation, adopted European codes, changed the costumes and the headdress of the people and established a new alphabet. All those interested in Islam should find this book enjoyable and profitable.

Eleanor T. Calverley.

The Principles of Theology, an introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles. By the late W. H. Griffith Thomas, D.D. pp. 540. $4.25. Longmans, Green and Co., London.

Under this modest title we have a monumental work on the theology of the Reformation period, which for accuracy and suggestiveness will prove invaluable to missionaries. The name of the Rev. Dr. Griffith Thomas is well known in England and in Canada. From the time when he was Vicar of St. Paul's, Portman Square, London, he was in the forefront of Biblical and Theological teachers, and was afterwards Principal of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, and Professor of Old Testament Exegesis in Wycliffe College, Toronto. This volume, which is published posthumously, is the fruit of a life's work on the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England.

The author is a conservative, but not an obscurantist, as is evident from Art. VI-VIII on the Canon of Holy Scriptures and the three Creeds. For a work of reference the index is meagre.

An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades. Memoirs of Usamah ibn-Munqidh. Translated from the original manuscript by Philip K. Hitti, Princeton University. Columbia University Press. pp. 265. $4.50.

To review this book is like reviewing a volume of illustrations—one can only tell what they illustrate and their general values.

It is a translation of a rare Arabic original now preserved in Madrid.

The Arab writer who lived in the twelfth century not far from the modern city of Hamith in Syria, in brief, disconnected sketches gives us his and others' experiences in war, hunting and travel, his extremely valuable observations concerning chivalry, religion, medicine and the domestic and social life of his day and locality. Especially interesting are his dissertations upon the character of his lifelong enemies, the Franks.

If one wishes to know what Islam meant to its adherents, and what Christianity meant to those who fought against it in the days of the crusades, it would be well to consult this original source.

That the book is one of the series,—Records of Civilization—will vouch for its scholarly integrity, the attractiveness of its typography, its map, index and illustrations.

JAMES CANTINE.

Modern Egypt, A List of References to Material in the New York Public Library. Compiled by Ida A. Pratt under the direction of Dr. Richard Gottheil, Chief of the Oriental Division. The New York Public Library, 1929. pp. 320. Price $2.50.

An invaluable, exhaustive index of all available material. The arrangement is excellent, and includes climate, geography, history, law, religion, literature, music, etc. On Christian missions there are twenty-seven entries, and on the Egyptian dialect fifty-two. In the latter list we regret to note the omission of the important work of E. E. Elder. Z.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By Miss Hollis W. Hering
Missionary Research Library, New York

I. GENERAL.

L'Irrigation dans la Ghouta de Damas. R. Tresse. (In the *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. 1929, cahier IV. pp. 459-573.)

A preliminary report of an investigation in what might be termed social geography.

The Joys and Sorrows of the Mecca Pilgrims. Arthur Torrance. (In *Current History,* New York. July, 1930. pp. 707-711.)

A rather popular account of the journey, paying tribute to the success of Ibn Saud in organizing and safeguarding the Arabian portion of it.

The Musulmans of Mysore. L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer. (In *The Madras Christian College Magazine,* Madras. April, 1930. pp. 84-103.)

An ethnological survey, giving statistics and descriptions of important customs.

The Orkhon Inscriptions, being a translation of Professor Wilhelm Thomsen's final Danish rendering. E. Denison Ross. (In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* London. 1930, vol. V., pt. 4. pp. 861-876.)

The two famous monuments contain long Turkish inscriptions in Runic characters on three sides, with an inscription in Chinese on the fourth. This is the first English translation to be published.

Tribal Areas and Migration Lines of the North Arabian Bedouins. Carl R. Raswan. (In *The Geographical Review,* New York. July, 1930. pp. 494-502.)

Notes on well-defined delimitation land-marks, with careful, clearly explained maps.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

Hasan Bin Sabbah, Founder of the Assassins. A. Hameed Hasan. (In *The Indian Review,* Madras. May, 1930. pp. 301-304.)

An outline of the wanderings of Hasan, his abode in Fort Alamut, and his organization of the deadly and fanatical secret sect.

HASAN-I SABBAH AND THE ASSASSINS. Laurence Lockhart. (In the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* London, 1930. vol. V., pt. 4, pp. 675-696.)

Gives a brief history of Hasan, of the Alamut Assassins, and of their doctrines so far as they are known, closing with a description of the author's visit to Alamut.

A MUSLIM DIVINE OF THE SUDAN IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY. H. R. Palmer. (In *Africa,* London. April, 1930. pp. 203-216.)

The translation, with commentary, of a document signed by one Mallam Kailani, which, according to internal evidence, must have been originally written during the reign of Sultan Ali Dunamami.

IV. TRADITIONS—THEOLOGY.

THE ACCOUNT OF THE ISMA'ILI DOCTRINES IN THE JAMI'AL-TAWARIKH OF RASHID AL-DIN FADLALLAH. Reuben Levy. (In the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* London. July, 1930. pp. 509-536.)

Quotations from and comments upon two British Museum manuscripts.

LE PROCES DE L'AMOUR DIVIN DANS L'ISLAM. René Serrier, S. J. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Février-mars, 1930. pp. 60-92.)

A study of Al-Hosayn ibn Mansour, Mohammedan mystic and martyr, together with a review of Massignon's two-volume work on the same subject.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

THE ARAB GIRLS' SCHOOL OF ZANZIBAR. Contributed by the Zanzibar Education Department. (In *Oversea Education,* London. July, 1930. pp. 125-130.)

Details some of the prejudices encountered in starting the school, the present curriculum (calling particular attention to the high standard attained in teaching the Koran), and the prospects for the future.

HAFIZ DE CHIRAZ ET L'ANALYSE DE L'AME PERSANE. Cyprian Rice, O. B. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Février-mars, 1930. pp. 93-98.)

A summary, to which is added a brief commentary, of M. Hojir's attempt to understand the true literary soul of the Persian through the works of Hafiz.

TURKEY IN MODERN DRESS. Owen Tweedy. (In *The Fortnightly Review,* London. June, 1930. pp. 811-821.)

Journalistic comments on the changes noted on revisiting Turkey after an absence of two years.

LES ZAOUIAS MAROCAINES ET LE MAKHZEN. Paul Marty. (In the *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. 1929, cahier IV., pp. 575-591.)

Customs relating to inheritance, and causes for action or non-intervention on the part of the central Makhzen.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

BRITISH TWO-PRONGED POLICY IN PALESTINE. Vincent Sheean. (In *Asia,* New York. August, 1930. pp. 586-592, 596-598.)

A clear, concise summing up of the contradictory pledges solemnly made by the British Government to the Arabs, the French and the Jews, and an indication of how just dealing is made impossible by the very terms of the Mandate.

ENGLAND AND EGYPT. The Right Hon. Earl Winterton. (In *The Nineteenth Century,* London. June, 1930. pp. 763-774.)

A survey of the relations between the two countries, emphasizing the history of Great Britain's responsibilities, especially as regards the protection of foreign resident communities, of the Canal zone and frontiers, and of the Sudan and the irrigation service.

THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM. Shafaat Ahmad Khan and A. Yusuf Ali. (In *Indian Affairs,* London. June, 1930. pp. 62-69.)

A presentation of the Moslem point of view on safe-guarding their rights as a minority community in India.

PALESTINE—AN IMPASSE? William Ernest Hocking. (In *The Atlantic Monthly,* Boston. July, 1930. pp. 121-133.)

An earnest consideration of the points of view of Zionist and of Arab in face of actualities, based on the fundamental fact that the two real enemies of peace in the Holy Land are fanaticism and fear.

THE PROBLEM OF THE NILE. Pierre Crabites. (In *Current History,* New York. July, 1930. pp. 737-742.)

The Egyptians were trained by Lord Cromer to consider the Sudan an integral part of Egypt; how far is Great Britain prepared to go in granting independence to Egypt if this seriously involves the Sudan?

LE PROBLÈME DES WAKFS EN ÉGYPTE. A Sékaly. (In the *Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. 1929, cahier IV. pp. 601-659.)

The last installment, giving the results of a careful investigation into the social, economic, and political significance of these organizations.

THE REALITIES OF ZIONISM. John Gunther. (In *Harper's Magazine,* New York. July, 1930. pp. 202-212.)

Zionism is an emotional necessity to certain Jews, but an economic and political failure; Arab hostility to Zionism is lamentable, but ineradicable; the British cannot recant their pledges, but to maintain them means difficulty, tension, bloodshed; what is the answer?

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

THE ARAB OF THE MIDDLE EUPHRATES. E. H. Hudson. (In the *International Review of Missions,* London. July, 1930. pp. 428-439.)

Discusses the varying characteristics of the townsmen of Deir-ez-Zor and of their Bedouin kinsmen, seen in the light of the work conducted at the clinic and dispensary of the American Presbyterian Mission.

EGYPT AT THE CROSSROADS. "Onlooker." (In *World Dominion,* London. July, 1930. pp. 270-274.)

Shows how selfish party politics has blocked progress towards making effective the religious liberty guaranteed by the constitution of 1923.

ISLAM'S GIBRALTAR. James Haldane. (In *World Dominion,* London. July, 1930. pp. 275-280.)

An urgent plea to the Church for increased effort in that most difficult of fields, North Africa from Egypt to Morocco.

PEUPLE MUSULMAN ET PATRONS CHRÉTIENS EN ÉGYPTE. H. Ayrout, S. J. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. April, 1930. pp. 126-131.)

Considers chiefly the working-class and the peasant, finding them, taken *en masse,* still extremely fanatical; taken individually, however, much more ready to esteem a religion which shows its practical effects in the lives of their Christian patrons.

PROBLEMS OF THE HOLY LAND: a Christian Point of View. E. F. F. Bishop. (In *The Church Overseas,* London. July, 1930. pp. 243-256.)

The Apologia of the Palestinian Christians in the face of the problems engendered in their country by Zionism.

UNE VISITE AU DISPENSAIRE OPHTALMOLOGIQUE DE "L'ASSOCIATION NORD-AFRICAINE POUR L'ENSEIGNEMENT DES AVEUGLES." Germaine Kellermann. (In *En Terre d'Islam,* Alger. Février-mars, 1930. pp. 105-109.)

A description of Catholic medical mission work for the native blind in Algiers.